

PICTURE OF THE VIRGIN MARY IN THE ETHIOPIC SENKESSAR

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<p>Mariologinen tutkimus huomioi Ethiopian ortodoksikirkon, mutta vähemmän etiopialaisen synaksarionin (Ethiopic Senkessar) kertomuksia. Käänsin ge'ezistä suomeen viiden suuren ja yhdeksän vähäisemmän Maria-juhlan tekstit. Näistä valituista Maria-juhlien teksteistä poimin neitsyt Mariaan liittyvät epiteetit ja adjektiivit, jotka tulkintoineen muodostavat tutkimukseni Maria-kuvan. Senkessarin kriittiset ge'ezin kieliset tekstit, joiden taustalla on vain 9 käsikirjoitusta, ovat kokoelmassa Patrologia Orientalis (1907-1997) ranskankielisten käännösten kera. Englanninkielisen käännöksen laati E.A. Wallis Budge (1928) eri käsikirjoitusten perusteella. Runsaasti Etiopia-tietoutta on laajassa viisiosaisessa teoksessa, Encyclopaedia Aethiopica (2003-2014).</p> <p>Maria-juhlia on Ethiopian ortodoksikirkossa 33 sekä lisäksi muutamia kuukausittain toistuvia juhlapäiviä. Valitsemani Maria-juhlien kertomukset antavat laajemman kuvan neitsyt Marian perhetaustasta kuin Raamatun kertomukset. Etiopialaisen synaksarionin teksteissä on runsaasti Mariaan ja Maria-ikoneihin liittyviä ihmekertomuksia, joita ei ole Uuden testamentin teksteissä. Tietoa Marian ja Jeesuksen keskenään sopimasta armoliitosta ei myöskään mainita Uuden testamentin kertomuksissa. Tosin Matteuksen evankeliumin mukaan (Mt 25:35-40) Jeesus antaa seuraajilleen samankaltaisia ohjeita.</p> <p>Neitsyt Mariaa kuvaavat epiteetit ja adjektiivit ovat usein senkessarin päiväkohtaisten lukujen alussa ja/tai myös keskellä. Tutut Marian vertauskuvat kuten puhdas, pyhä, kaksinkertainen neitsyt ja Jumalan synnyttäjät kuuluvat kirkkojen väliseen mariologiseen keskusteluun sekä tutkimukseen.</p> <p>Tämä rajattuihin senkessarin teksteihin perustuva tutkimus osoittaa, että mariologiset käsitteet ja Marian attribuutit ovat pääosin samoja sekä Ethiopian ortodoksikirkon pyhimyskertomuksissa että Marian anaforassa, liturgiassa. Kuitenkin laajempi etiopialaisen lähdeaineiston käyttö on tarpeen monipuolisemman Maria-kuvan muodostamiseksi.</p>		
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<p><i>Tiivistelmä Referat – Abstract</i></p> <p><i>Mariological research includes the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, but seldom daily stories of the Ethiopic Senkessar (synaxarion). A great challenge for this study is first to translate the original Ge'ez texts, which are in Patrologia Orientalis, then to pick up Marian attributes from those texts, and finally to comment these Marian epithets. A large and recent source for Ethiopian studies is Encyclopaedia Aethiopica.</i></p> <p><i>These hagiographic Marian festival texts give wider perspective to Marian family circle than biblical texts. In readings of the Ethiopic Senkessar there also are stories of several miracles in connection with the Virgin Mary or her icons. These miracles do not exist in narratives of the New Testament. About the Covenant of Mercy, between the Mother of God and her son Jesus Christ, there is no evidence in four Gospels, even if there are similar stipulations in the Gospel of St Matthew (25:35-40).</i></p> <p><i>Most of Marian dignity epithets, portraying her, are in the beginning of Senkessar stories. The Marian attributes like pure, holy, double Virgin and God-bearer belong to interdenominational mariological discussion.</i></p> <p><i>Based on this concise study of the selected Ethiopic Senkessar texts, the concepts of Mariology and the Marian attributes seem to be similar in the Anaphora of St Mary and in liturgy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church. In order to get more complete results, this study needs to be widened at least by other texts of Ethiopic Senkessar and by other Ethiopian anaphoras.</i></p>		
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INTRODUCTION

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has with population growth gained statistically the second place among the orthodox churches. By membership the Russian Orthodox Church, which started in Kievan area c 988, maybe is a bit larger, even after the Ukrainian Orthodox Church got its autokephaly in January 2019. However the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is about 650 years older than the Russian Orthodox Church.

There are circa 100 million inhabitants in Ethiopia, and estimation for 2050 is about 165 million. Population of the country consists of the following religious groups: Ethiopian Orthodox 43,5 %, Muslim 33,9 %, Protestant 18,5 %, Traditional 2,7 %, Catholic 0,7 % and other 0,6 %. There are over 60 languages and nearly 200 dialects in Ethiopia. The main language groups are divided approximately: Cushitic 54 %, Ethio-Semitic 43 % (e.g. Amharic, Ge'ez, Gurage, Tigre and Tigrinja), Nilotic-Saharan 2 % and Omotic 1 %. The old Ethio-Semitic language, Ge'ez, is used in the liturgy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, a little bit like Latin in many Roman Catholic Churches.¹

Ethiopia, its profane and religious cultures have since 1500 AD little by little become known in Europe. Hiob Ludolf wrote his *Historia Aethiopica* (1681) in Frankfurt, and August Dillmann compiled his basic Ethiopic Grammar of Ge'ez in Kiel (1857). Its revised edition is available in English, too. In European Libraries there are hundreds of Ethiopic manuscripts as well as thousands in manuscript libraries in Addis Ababa and in Ethiopian monasteries. It means that there is tremendous challenge for scholars to unravel even a portion of questions hidden in Ethiopic manuscripts.

Wolf Leslau, mainly after the 2nd world war, wrote several linguistic studies on Ethiopian Semitic languages, e.g. Amharic, Ge'ez, Gurage, Soqotri and Tigrinja. A new treasure for Ethiopian religious and profane knowledge is the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (2003-2014) in five volumes. There is also a recent handbook on Ethiopian history, culture and challenges by Siegbert Uhlig, David Appleyard, Aleesandro Bausi, Wolfgang Hahn and Steven Kaplan (2017). Some European universities have a modern section for Ethiopian studies like Hiob Ludolf Center in the University of Hamburg.

¹ Ethiopia 2017 p 7, 9, 42-44; Honkanen 2015b p 4-5.

Many orthodox churches have their own daily lectionaries for saints (synaksarion/senkessar or minologion) with rich narrative material. The Finnish Orthodox Church has recently renewed its large Synaxarion. The Coptic Church in Egypt has a shorter Synaxarion than the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The critical Ge'ez texts of the Ethiopic Senkessar are in *Patrologia Orientalis*. Ignazio Guidi, Sylvain Grebaut and Gérard Colin prepared those texts of the Ethiopic Senkessar with French translations (1907-1997). E.A. Wallis Budge translated the entire Ethiopic Senkessar into English in four volumes with the title 'The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church' (1928). Chrysostome Hayoz (1956) issued a dissertation based on two Ethiopic Marian hymns 'Portrait de Marie' and 'Complainte de la Vierge'. Haoyz' study also has Coptic, Greek and Syrian comparative material and there are Marian epithets. His study concentrates on manuscripts and background of those poems.

According to Ethiopian tradition there are 33 Marian festivals annually, but an ordinary member of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church has every year to attend at least five major Marian feasts. Friedrich Heyer issued a basic study of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1971), where he describes its practices like praise of the Virgin Mary, her miracles and daily reading of Senkessar. In one of his later books Heuer writes about the Ethiopian Saints. Serafim Seppälä produced (2010) in Finnish an extensive survey on early Mariology. Seppälä explains largely the background of the Marian epithets, but he is more specialized in writings of the early fathers and the church fathers than in literature of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

There are several mariological studies in Catholic and Orthodox churches. They are not based on the Ethiopic Senkessar, but on other narrative and poetical texts e.g. miracles of the Virgin Mary, legends, liturgies, hymns, poems, sermons and writings of early or church fathers and bishops. Verena Böll made her thesis on the Marian Anaphora of Cyriacus of Behnesa with its Amharic exegesis (1998), and Maija Priess her thesis on the Chrysostomos-Anaphora with its manuscripts (2006).

For this study there are two reasons. First there are limited specific mariological studies based on the Ethiopic Senkessar or on the Ethiopian Liturgy concerning the Marian epithets. Secondly the results of this study will help to compare the picture of the Virgin Mary with other Ethiopic texts and with Marian epithets and concept of other miaphysite churches.

Kauko Pirinen, already in 1974, suggested me to study the Ethiopic Senkessar. After that I studied General history and Semitic languages at the University of Helsinki, but I didn't start working with Senkessar until 2010. In the first section of this research I will shortly tell some basics of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, its literature, its Church Calendar and its liturgy, which differentiate from usages of European Christian Churches. Many Ethiopian Christian festivals are linked with the Virgin Mary. Among the 14 official anaphoras, leading to Eucharist, there is one official Marian anaphora which is in use during many of her feast days, or in few other festival liturgies.²

Before this study I wrote several essays and reviews on Ethiopian items including Dillmann's Ethiopic Grammar, and Leslau's Reference Grammar of Amharic. I translated over 150 pages Amharic and Ge'ez texts into Finnish including selected Marian festival chapters of the Ethiopic Senkessar, and the long Ethiopic poem 'Flower song' *mahletä šäge* (appendix 4).

The first step in this challenging work was to translate fourteen Marian festival texts of the Ethiopic Senkessar from their original language, Ge'ez, into Finnish. The next step of my study was to pick up the Marian attributes from the selected hagiographic texts of ES and explained the collected Marian epithets of those passages linguistically. I also compared them with the Ethiopian Anaphora of St Mary. I draw a picture of the Virgin Mary by help of her attributes and epithets from selected hagiographic texts of ES. I did concentrate on certain Marian festival texts because the Master of Arts study must be concise. In this short study it is not possible to analyse all Marian festival texts of the Ethiopic Senkessar. That would require more extensive study.

² Habtemichael *Anaphoras* EAE 1 p 251-252.

THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TEWAHIDO CHURCH (EOTC)

1. Historical landmarks

Christian influences started to find their ways into Ethiopia through trade routes by inland from Egyptian Alexandria, by commercial sea routes via Red Sea and from the south-western Arabia, too. The church father St. Irenaeus (d 202 AD) tells that the Ethiopian Queen Kandake's courtier, a eunuch, (Acts 8:26-39) who returned from Jerusalem, spread the Gospel in his living area. In the Roman Martyrology there is an uncorroborated story that St. Matthew, the apostle, was preaching the Gospel in Ethiopia, and was also killed there.³ Stuart Munro-Hay, an archaeologist and a numismatist writes, that the king 'Ezana ruled in Ethiopian Aksum as a Christian regent since 324/325 AD. Munro-Hay continues that the Alexandrian bishop Athanasius appointed Frumentius in 328 to act as the first bishop at Aksum, which was the Ethiopian cultural, ecclesiastic and political center up to 16th century. Aksum nowadays is a small city with long historical background. It is situated near the Eritrean border, over 500 kilometres north from the Ethiopian modern capital Addis Ababa.⁴

Translation of Christian texts into Ge'ez starts in the beginning of Aksumite age (330-900 AD) in close connection with the Coptic Church in Egyptian Alexandria where the Greek language was in use. Because of that the mentioned time is also called the Greek period of Ge'ez literature. Ge'ez is the old SemFor that reason c language in northern Ethiopia, before modern Amharic, Tigre and Tigrinja languages. From that age is e.g. the Praise of Mary (Wəddase Maryam), a liturgical poem which according to the Ethiopian tradition is ascribed to St Ephrem (c 306-373 AD Nisibis / Nuṣaybin), a Syrian author. The creator of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church music is said to be St Yared, a musician and priest in the 6th century Ethiopia. Three out of the 14 official anaphoras, which form liturgical handbook for leading the Eucharist, and are still in use in the EOTC, belong to this early medieval period, as well as most of the liturgy and its music.⁵ Many manuscripts from that age are translations from Coptic or Greek texts.

³ Aymro p 1; Calahan p 320; Oja p 89, 328; Sergew p 3. In legends it is possible to mix Matthew (Matth 10:3) and Matthias (Acts 1:23); Lempiäinen p 81, 359.

⁴ Munro-Hay *The Dating of Ezana and Frumentius* LCEC p 66-67; Hahn 'Ezana EAE 2 p 478-479 suggests a bit later timing; Aymro p 4; Sergew p 4; Uhlig 2017 p 94-98; Munro-Hay *Aksum* EAE 1 p 173-179.

⁵ Getachew Gə'əz, *Literature* EAE 2 p 736-737; Weninger *Wəddase Maryam* EAE 4 p 1173; idem *Ephrem* EAE 2 p 331; Brita Yared EAE 5 p 26-27; Fetha Nagast p 84.

There are also many hagiographic stories, written since 1200 AD about the so called ‘Nine Syrian Saints’ who came to Ethiopia some time after the Chalcedon meeting (451 AD), where the Roman Catholics and Western Orthodox churches accepted the resolution of the Chalcedon council concerning the two natures, human and divine, of Jesus Christ, but especially Syrian and Egyptian bishops didn’t. That’s the reason why Eastern Orthodox Churches are called miaphysitic (one nature only) or non-Chalcedon churches. Those Nine Saints are commemorated according to the Ethiopian Church Calendar and the Book of Exposition, which is a liturgical calendar and lectionary of the EOTC.⁶

The Ethiopic *Senkessar* with its daily reading throughout the year and biographies (*gädlät/vitae*) give some information about those Saints. Stuart Munro-Hay introduces these Nine Saints, obviously monks, who worked in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and established monasteries probably during 480-560 AD. But there is scarcely any contemporary evidence on those men. For the same reason Antonella Brita writes that their names could even be descriptive nicknames. In every case that period is called ‘the second Christianization’ of Ethiopia.⁷

The next literary period is the time of the Zagwe dynasty (900-1270), which is followed by the House of Amhara or the Solomonic Dynasty (1270-1560). The end of the medieval time is also called the Arabic period of Gə’əz literature. The metropolitan Abunä Sälama, the translator (in office c 1348-1388; Abunä means ‘our father’), was enriching the Ethiopian church with service books and hagiography.⁸ For example the monastery of Däbrä Hayq Ḥṣṭifanos, which is about 40 km north of the city Dessie, had many scribes translating from Arabic into Gə’əz. The Ethiopic *Sənkəssar* also belongs to that time. The emperor Zär’a Ya’əqob (1399-1468) as a matter of fact worked as the head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. He was renewing the Church and produced many literary works. The Miracles of the Virgin Mary and many old Christian texts, which were saved by Arabic language, are translated into Gə’əz during this Solomonic period. After medieval time there comes a period called the House of Gondar (1560-1770).⁹

⁶ Fritsch & Zanetti *Gəṣṣawe* EAE 2 p 773-774; Idem *Calendar, Christian* EAE 1 p 672.

⁷ Brita *Nine Saints* EAE 3 p 1188-1190; Munro-Hay *Saintly Shadows* LCEC p 221-229; Ullendorff 1967 p 102; Heyer 1971 p 154-160; Witakowski *Chalcedon, Council of* EAE 1 p 709-711.

⁸ Marrassini, *Sälama* EAE 4 p 488-489, has listed nearly twenty translations of Abunä Sälama.

⁹ Getachew *Gə’əz, Literature* EAE 2 p 736-737; Colin & Bausi *Sənkəssar* EAE 4 p 621-622; Kaplan & Derat *Zär’a Ya’əqob* EAE 5 p 146-148; Uhlig 2017 p 174-177; Derat *Däbrä Hayq Ḥṣṭifanos* EAE 2 p 24-25; Leslau 2010 p 27 Ge’ez title for Ethiopian emperors is ሐይረማርያም ሐይረማርያም (Amh *ase*).

His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I (*Hayle Šallase*, earlier *Täfäri Mäk'ännän*, b 1892) also had the honorary titles: King of Kings, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Elect of God and Emperor of Ethiopia. He started his reign in 1916 and acted as emperor from 1930 to the socialist revolution in 1974. His time was productive also for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which became autocephalous from Egyptian Coptic Church in 1959. The first native Ethiopian archbishop was Basəlyos, earlier *Gäbrä Giyorgis* (1883-1970).¹⁰

The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahədo Church, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ኦርቶዶክስ፡ተዋሕዶ፡ቤተ፡ክርስቲያን** *yä'itəyopya ortodoks təwahədo*¹¹ *betä krəstiyān* (EOTC) belongs to the old oriental orthodox Christian Churches like the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria in Egypt, the Eritrean Orthodox Tewahədo Church, the Syriac Orthodox Church (also called the Jacobite Church) and the Malankara Orthodox Church of India. These churches have not accepted the resolutions of the Chalcedon Council in 451 AD concerning divinity and humanity in the person of Jesus Christ.¹² Therefore these old oriental churches are also called non-Chalcedon churches. Many church historians, Friedrich Heyer, too, have used the word mono-physisitism, which expression is rejected in the old oriental churches. They prefer the word miaphysitism.¹³ In EOTC's Wikipedia pages there is e.g. the following statement: 'Miaphysitism holds that in the one person of Jesus Christ, Divinity and Humanity are united in one (μία, one) nature (φύσις, physis) without separation, without confusion, without alteration and without mixing where Christ is consubstantial with God the Father in as much as He is with Mankind.'

¹⁰ Clapham *Haylā Šallase I* EAE 2 p 1060-1066; Ethiopia 2017 p 221-222; Bairu *Basəlyos* EAE 1 p 495-496.

¹¹ Tedros *Təwahədo* EAE 4 p 873-875: *tewahido* term (being made one) means the complete union of human and divine natures of Christ; Leslau 2010 s 160; Heyer 1971 p VI & 263 only mentions the term *tewahido*; Aymro, too, p 97-99, explains the terms miaphysite, non-chalcedon and *tewahido*.

¹² According to Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* p 339-340, the idea of the Chalcedon Council was to establish a single faith throughout the Graeco-Roman Empire. The proposed text for the meeting is: 'In agreement, therefore, with the holy fathers, we all unanimously teach that we should confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is one and the same Son, the same perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood, truly God and truly man, the same of a rational soul and body, consubstantial with us in all things except sin; begotten from the Father before the ages as regards His Godhead, and in the last days, the same because of us and because of our salvation begotten from the Virgin Mary, the Theotokos, as regards His manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, made known in two natures without confusion, without change, without division, without separation, the difference of the natures being by no means removed because of the union, but the property of each nature being preserved and coalescing in one prosopon and one hypostasis – not parted or divided into two prosopa, but one and the same Son, only-begotten, divine Word, the Lord Jesus Christ, as the prophets of old and Jesus Christ himself have taught us about Him and the creed of our fathers has handed down.'

¹³ Hainthaler *Monophysitism* EAE 3 p 1006-1009 gives a long description about it in comparison with miaphysitism; Heyer 1971 s 257-266 describes the discussion on monophysitism in the EOTC, too.

Timothy Ware states that when there is an ecclesiastical schism, it has connections with political separatism. He also clearly writes that the difference between miaphysites (or monophysites) and chalcedonians is basically terminological. Even some orthodox metropolitans (archbishops) have similarly seen the difference between chalcedonians and non-chalcedonians as a terminological question.¹⁴

2. Religious literature

According to David Appleyard the Gospels are translated into Ge'ez before 400 AD and most of the Bible books (ጥንቅቅ:ቅዱሳን *mäṣḥāft qəddusat* 'sacred books, Scripture') by 600 AD, but from the 1st Christian millennium no Ethiopic Bible translations are found.

The Bible canon according to the Fetha Nagast should have 81 books, but the EOTC has no official stand concerning the list of the Bible books. The New Testament is in Ge'ez, but Old Testament books do not have critical translations. Even if there are many good ms, a full critical Ge'ez Bible is still to come.¹⁵

In the EOTC there is in use the handbook (ጥንቅቅ:ገጽጽ *mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe* 'Book of Exposition'), in which there are instructions for Bible lectionaries, liturgical calendar, singing and commemoration of saints in festivals. This handy manual has Coptic background, and even its Ge'ez name comes from the word *gəṣṣawe* 'Egyptian'. According to Emmanuel Fritsch the edition of Book of Exposition (1953) has a special supplement for movable feasts and fasts, too. The version of the Book of Exposition (1986) is still fully written in Ge'ez. A new version (2004) is made at the initiative of Yared Fanta (ጠምህር *māmhar* 'teacher, instructor'). The new version concentrates more on the Bible reading, which happens nowadays often in Amharic. This version of the manual leaves many saintly commemorations away. There is a list of 39 manuscripts from the old *gəṣṣawe*, but the manuscript tradition of this handbook needs to be studied more.¹⁶

¹⁴ Heyer 1971 p 288-289 continues trinitary discussion in ecumenical context; Ware p 37; Ethiopia 2017 p 220; Wikipedia EOTC; www.ethiopianorthodox.org gives plenty of information in Amharic, English, French etc.

¹⁵ Fetha Nagast p 13 lists 73 books; Weninger *Gə'əz Bible edition* EAE 1 p 569-571; Uhlig *Bible, Time and Context* EAE 1 p 563-564; Brandt *Bible Canon* EAE 1 p 571-573; www.ethiopianorthodox.org; EOTC has 40 books in OT plus 18 secondary books, and in NT 27 books plus 9 advisory books; Ethiopia 2017 p 175; Leslau 2010 p 225; BFBS has given information that the full OT text in Ge'ez would be published in 2019.

¹⁶ Fritsch & Zanetti *Gəṣṣawe* EAE 2 p 773-774; Leslau 2010 p 213, 28.

Ethiopian monasteries and churches have preserved great amount of manuscripts (lat manuscriptum, **ጽሕፈተ:እድ** *ṣəḥfātā* ‘əd ‘handwriting’), and according to Sergew Hable Selassie there are over 200 000 pieces of ms in Ethiopia and in Eritrea. There also are several thousands of Ethiopian ms in foreign libraries, e.g. British Library, French National Library, State Library in Berlin and Vatican Library. Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML) has about 10 000 ms of which circa half are in catalogues. Christian manuscripts also include many Pseudepigrapha and Apocryphal writings. Paolo Marrassini divides the apocrypha into three categories: 1) some of them are translated directly from Greek like the Acts of Mark the Apostle, Psalm 150, Prayer of Manasseh, Life of Jeremiah, and Physiologus, which contains animal stories; 2) nearly 50 apocryphal texts are translated from Arabic between 1200 and 1700 AD; 3) less than 20 apocrypha are written in Ethiopia e.g. the Nobility of the Kings, the Commandments of the Sabbath, the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Baruch, the Chariot of Eli and few others.¹⁷

ጠጽሐፈ:ስንክሳር *mäṣḥafä sənḳəsār* ‘the Book of Senkessar’ (Gr synaksarion, also menologion, martyrologion)¹⁸ is a large collection of hagiographic texts, one reading for each day of the year. E.A. Wallis Budge describes the vast size of the Senkesar so, that a professional scribe had to work 13 months to copy the whole text from manuscripts.¹⁹ A daily reading chapter may be very short (e.g. Mäskäräm 2) containing only one page where is the story how John the Baptist lost his head by Herodias advice (Matt 14:3-12), but in this narrative execution John’s head flew up somewhere to Arabia.²⁰ For some days the passages are really long (e.g. Mäggabit 30). It is over 15 pages and includes several stories on many saints. One passage of this narration has the story how Gabriel, the angel, who is highly valued, gets a task to inform the Virgin Mary about Christ, and the salvation of all the world. After that there is the long story on Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, who is a highly venerated Saint in Ethiopia, but there are scarcely any historical facts about him.²¹

¹⁷ Uhlig & Bausi *Manuscripts* EAE 3 p 738-741; Witakowski *Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha* EAE 4 p 233-234; Marrassini *The Adventures of the Apocrypha in Ethiopia* LCEC p 101-103; Ethiopia 2017 p 170; Leslau 2010 p 225.

¹⁸ Colin & Bausi *Sənḳəsār* EAE 4 p 621-622; Leslau uses the forms *sənḳəsār* (Ge’ez 2010 p 73) and *sənḳəsar* (Amharic 1976 p 56); the form ‘senkessar’ is used in literature, e.g. Heyer 1971 p 29, 359.

¹⁹ Budge 1928 p x, and his translation has large introduction and indexes of names of saints and bishops.

²⁰ PO No 195 p 338-340 concerning the death of John the Baptist (Mark 6: 17-29); Calahan 1996 p 152.

²¹ PO No 207 p 436-467 with the translation: first a short passage on the Virgin Mary, then some lines on the judge Samson (Judges 13:1 - 16:31), and some words about the Saint Jacob. The last part of this long reading is like a gadl (vita) of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus circa 13 pages; Marrassini *Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus* EAE 2 p 619-622; Kaplan *Gadl* EAE 2 p 642-644.

The source of the Ethiopic Senkessar is Coptic, and the early translations via Arabic into Gə'əz are from the end of the 14th century. Two hundred years later a revision work is done at the Däbrä Ḥayq ʾĪstīfanos monastery. Soon after that another recension with minor additions is finalised around 1600 AD in the Däbrä Libanos monastery. The scribes use in their revision work sources e.g. from NT and OT or apocryphal writings e.g. 'Acts of the Apostles' (*Gädlä ḥawaryat*) or 'Acts of Martyrs' (*Gädlä säma'ətat*).²²

Steven Kaplan explains the work done in monasteries, where hagiographers and copyists are writing in medieval Ethiopic. They necessarily don't write very critically. If a source can't give enough information, the scribe fills the gap from the Bible or from another source, suitable to the story of a Saint. Many Ethiopian Saints (men and a few women) got their biography written soon after their deaths. Adolf Grohmann tells that some scribes wrote heavy curses by the mouths of Kefa, Saul and the scribe for those who steal or damage the manuscripts.²³

In the Ethiopic Senkessar there are stories of Christian saints and martyrs from different areas around the Mediterranean sea, from the Middle-Eastern countries, from Africa and Arabia. Friedrich Heyer estimates that there are about 200 of Ethiopian Saints, too, whose biographies (**ገጽጽ** *gädl*, pl. **ገጽጽት** *gädlät* 'acts, life, spiritual fights') are written, and many of those saints are mentioned in the ES. The narratives of the Ethiopic Senkessar became very popular. People like to listen vivid stories, even if they are not critically proofed. A daily passage of the Senkessar should be read in every morning service. In catalogues there are more than one hundred manuscripts of ES or parts of it, but only some complete and in good condition.²⁴

A critical version of the Ethiopic Senkessar is in the series of *Patrologia Orientalis*. Ignazio Guidi prepared text with French translations of three months (**ሰኔ** *Säne*, **ሐምሌ** *Ḥamle*, **ነሐሴ** *Näḥase* plus **ጳጳሳ** *ṗagʷmen* in 1907-1913), Sylvain Grébaut a few months (**ነሐሴ** *Näḥase* plus **ጳጳሳ** *Ṗagʷmen* and **ታሕሳሥ** *Tahśas* 1913-1945), and Gérard Colin completed the rest 8 months in 1986-1997 (appendix 1). The critical collection of ES texts was ready in

²² Bausi *Gädlä Säma'ətat* EAE 2 p 644-646; idem (*Gädlä*) *ḥawaryat* EAE 2 p 1049-1051; See also 'Das Synaxarium, Das Koptische Heiligenbuch' 1994.

²³ Kaplan *History of Medieval Ethiopia* LCEC p 374-376; Heyer 1998 tells in his opus about 83 Ethiopian Saints; Grohmann 1919 p 49.

²⁴ Buxton 1971 p 123-124; Colin & Bausi *Senkessar* EAE 4 p 621-623; Heyer 1998 p 13-14; Leslau 2010 p 211.

ninety years. The ES texts of PO are based only on nine manuscript, 3-5 ms per each month.²⁵

Beside the articles of Encyclopaedia Ethiopica (EAE), Verena Böll and Adolf Grohmann among others have surveys on Marian literature in their researches on Ethiopic texts. Here follow only a few examples of the vast Ethiopic Marian literary treasure.

ውዳሴ፡እግዝእትነ፡ጣርያም፡ድንግል፡ወላዲተ፡አምላክ *Wəddase əgzə'tənä Maryam dāngəl wäladite amlak* 'Praise of our Lady Mary, the Virgin genitrix (mother) of God'. This opus is also in use in liturgy of the EOTC with hymns 'The Gate of Light' and 'The Organ of Mary'. According to the Ethiopian tradition the author of *Wəddase Maryam* is Ephrem the Syrian (306-373 AD). In this hymn there is an old Syrian and Coptic theotokos-formula, the Mother of God concept. *Wəddase Maryam* contains seven chapters, one for each day of the week, and people also use it as personal devotion. It belongs to canonical studies of the EOTC, and it can be chanted in Ethiopian Orthodox Church's liturgy.²⁶

Another praise hymn for the Virgin Mary is **አንቀጽ፡ብርሃን** *anqäṣä bərhan* 'The gate of Light' or **ውዳሴ፡ወግናይ፡ለእሙ፡አዶናይ** *Wəddase wägəṇay lä'əmmä adonay* 'Praise and glorification of the Mother of the Adonai (the Lord)'. Together with the Ethiopic Psalter this praise is a daily prayer-book for Ethiopian Christians. The author of this hymn is not known but the Ethiopian tradition ascribes it to Saint Yared. This glorification is chanted on Sundays, and Verena Böll writes that this short poem of praise has got its ideas from the apocryphal books, e.g. from Protogospel of James.²⁷

Third hymn of praise to the Virgin Mary also has connections with the Anaphora of St. Mary:

ውዳሴ፡እምቃለ፡ነቢያት *wəddase 'əmqalä näbiyat* 'Praise from the words of prophets'. This poem deals with OT's messianic prophesies, and it is sung in the morning of the Christmas Eve. Habtemikael Kidane states that there are over 70 Marian hymns.²⁸

²⁵ Honkanen 2015a p 23-25; Leslau 2010 p 52, 15, 120, 222, 108.

²⁶ Weninger *Wəddase Maryam* EAE 4 p 1173; Böll 1998 p 19-24; Grohmann 1919 p 14-17, where he compares texts of Ephraem Syrus, Theotokia and *Wəddase Maryam*; Leslau 2010 p 166; Zanetti *Church and popular veneration of St Mary*.EAE III p.813.

²⁷ Getachew *Anqäṣä bərhan* EAE 1 p 278-279; Böll 1998 p 24-26; Grohmann 1919: text, translation and explanation; Leslau 2010 p 141, 97; Böll p 24-26, 43.

²⁸ Habtemichael *Hymns to the Virgin Mary* EAE 3 p 818; Böll 1998 p 26-27; Leslau 2010 p 79, 123.

አርጋዮን፡ጣርያም *‘arganonä maryam* ‘The Organ of Mary’ or **አርጋዮን፡ውዳሴ** *‘arganonä Maryam* ‘The organ of Praise’ is traditionally ascribed to Giorgis of Säгла, the author of many books. The full title gives an impression of this hymn: ‘An Organ of Praise, a Violin of Song and a Harp of Glory for the Beautification of her Virginity, for the Proclamation of her Exaltation, the Admiration of her Name, the Glorification of the Virginity of, and the Paying of Homage to the reign of the Holy, Pure and Blessed Virgin Mary, Who is Mariham the Virgin in Hebrew (sic. for Coptic), the Mother of God, who is the Golden Ark that is not shaken by a Wave of Flood.’ This hymn has also similarities with the Anaphora of St. Mary. Abba Giyorgis of Säгла (**ንቡረ፡እድ** *nəburä* ‘əd ‘head of the church’) encouraged the Emperor Zar’a Ya’aqob (1399-1469 AD) to enlarge the Marian cult in Ethiopia.²⁹

One of the most beautiful extolling hymns to the Virgin Mary is **ማህለተ፡ጽጌ** *maḥletä ṣäge* ‘Canticle of the Flower’. It is ascribed to abba Ṣäge Dəngəl, but the style of this poem fits better to abba Giyorgis of Säгла, and the poem is written later than the Anaphora of St. Mary. The author describes the Virgin within numerous fine symbolic and legendary pictures in this lengthy piece of poetry (e.g. Song of Songs of the OT). According to the Ethiopic text which Adolf Grohmann published, this poem has 1 + 156 + 2 strophes with 5 rhymed lines in each. Grohmann counts in this poem only, over 100 Marian epithets but not the most common. He also lists 24 Marian chants and 65 Marian poems in his study. Since 1919 more ms on Maḥletä ṣäge are found, why the text of this poem needs clarifying.³⁰

ኪዳነ፡ምሕረት *kidanä məḥrät* ‘Covenant of Mercy’ or **መጽሐፈ፡ኪዳነ፡ምሕረት** *mäṣḥafä kidanä məḥrät* ‘Book of the Covenant of Mercy’ has short and long versions in manuscripts. Few examples of these covenant texts are in readings of Ethiopic Sekessar on Yäkkatit 16 and Tərr 21 feasts. The Virgin Mary made a pact with the Lord Jesus, so that everyone who loves her neighbour and commemorates the Virgin Mary would be saved. Stefan Weninger writes that the texts of this pact can be found e.g. in ‘Tä’ammərä Maryam’ (Miracles of the Virgin Mary), ‘Apocrypha de Beata Virgine’ (Chaîne 1909) and ‘De Transitu Mariae Apocrypha

²⁹ Getachew Haile ‘*Arganonä maryam*’ EAE 1 p 329-330; Colin Giyorgis of Säгла EAE 2 p 812; Böll 1998 p 28-29; Leslau 2010 p 137.

³⁰ Habtemichael Kidane *Maḥletä ṣäge* EAE 3 p 660-661; Böll 1998 p 30-31; Grohmann 1919 p 26-36, 55, 63-64, 66-321: text, translation in German and explanations of the poem Maḥletä ṣäge; Leslau 2010 p 14, 234; Honkanen 2018, an unprinted translation of **ማህለተ፡ጽጌ** *maḥletä ṣäge* (Kukkaislaulu) into Finnish.

Aethiopice I & II' (Arras 1973-1974). This pact is also mentioned in some other Ethiopic literature concerning the Virgin Mary.³¹

Ethiopian people like to listen to or to read the book, ተአምረ፡ግረያም *tä'ammärä Maryam* 'Miracles of Mary'. This book is important in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church, because it is a paradigmatic work which shows cultural patterns between Eastern and Western Christianity. The texts of the Miracles of Mary are also read at the end of the liturgy during 33 Marian festivals per annum. These miraculous stories tell about saints from the Near East, Europe, Egypt and Ethiopia. The book is translated from Arabic and revised later for Ethiopian use. The Emperor Zar'a Ya'eqob ordered its liturgical usage in the middle of the 15th century. He himself, and with others, wrote a number of books for the EOTC. There are plenty pieces of ms for the Book of Miracles. One very comprehensive Ge'ez-Amharic edition, published in Ethiopia (1995-96), contains about 400 miracles which are connected to the Virgin Mary.

E.A. Wallis Budge translated from Ge'ez into English e.g. 'The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Life of Hannah' (1900), 'Legends of our Lady Mary' (1922) and 'One hundred ten Miracles of our Lady Mary' (1923), and 'Senkessar' (1928, from ms 660 & 661 in collections of British Museum).³²

3. The festival calendar and Marian feasts

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Calendar has many roots. In old Egypt there was a lunar year calendar (12 x 30 + 5 days³³) for religious and other festivals. But there was also a solar and circular star, Sirius, calendar (365 + ¼ day). Once in 1460 years these are equal, and this long period was called Sothis- or Sirius-era. Circa in 45 BC Julius Caesar decided that the corrected Alexandrian chronology had to be used everywhere in the Roman Empire. Since that time the New Year day was the 29th or 30th August depending on the leap year. Similar calendar is still in use both in the Coptic Church and in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. But in Ethiopia the New Year festival is about ten days later, in the 11th of September (1st of

³¹ Weninger *Kidanä məhrāt* EAE 3 p 396-397; Böll 1998 p 31-33; Honkanen 2015a p 15,19; CSCO Scriptorum Aethiopici 1909 No 22-23 by Chaïne; idem 1973-74 No 66-69 by Arras; Leslau 2010 p 157, 30-31.

³² Balicka-Witkowski & Bausi *Tä'ammärä Maryam* EAE 4 p 789-792; Böll 1998 p 34-36; Appleyard *Budge, Ernest Alfred Wallis* EAE 1 p 635; Kaplan & Derat *Zär'a Ya'eqob* EAE 5 p 146-148; Leslau 2010 p 134-135.

³³ Fritsch & Zanetti *Calendar, Christian* EAE 1 p 668: these five or six extra days are called *epagomenai* in Greek and ጸጉጢን *pag'men* in gə'əz, Leslau 2010 p 222.

Maskaram), even if the rainy season starts one month earlier than in Egypt. Four months rainy season (approximately June – September) starts the agricultural year, then becomes as long time for sowing (October – January), followed by a similar period for harvesting (February – May), equalling 360 days plus 5-6 extra days before the New Year.³⁴ (App 2)

ቤተክርስቲያን *Betä Īsra'el* ‘the House of Israel’, is an old religious group, also called Falashas (**ፈላስ** *fäläsä* ‘emigrate, go to exile’, *fälasi* ‘alien, stranger, ascetic, wanderer’) or Ethiopian Jews in areas north of the Lake Tana. Their civil calendar is Julian solar, but their feasts are defined according to the lunar calendar and to the Jewish festival calendar, where the new moon feast (**የጨረቃ፡በዓል** *yäčäräqa bä'al*, Numeri 28:11-15) is the most important.³⁵

Muslims in Ethiopia follow the Islamic Calendar in their religious life. Their Calendar is based on the lunar phases and on the Koran (Sūra 9:36).³⁶

The traditional Ethiopian Oromo calendar does not use weeks, but twelve lunar months. *Ayyaana* is their complex concept with periods of 8, 40 and 360 years for dating life and events. Marco Bassi emphasizes that Oromo people can easily realize the solar and lunar combinations without tables. Nowadays many Oromo people follow the Christian festivals, but the meaning of those feasts can be pre-Christian.³⁷

Behind the Coptic and the Ethiopian Church calendar there is the date of the Jewish New Year festival, based on lunar calculations, 354 days per annum. As described in the footnote there will be a system of 19 or 532 years for calculating Easter and festivals connected with it. In the Ethiopian tradition this computus, timing system, is introduced by Moses, revised by the Apostles, and taken into use by the Alexandrian Archbishop Demetrios (230-240 AD). The real developer of this calendar system is probably the monk Anianos circa 400, and maybe Abū Šakir finalised it in the 13th century.³⁸

³⁴ Wikipedia, *Egyptian Calendar*; Fritsch & Zanetti *Calendar, Christian* EAE 1 p 668-669; Uhlig *Chronography* EAE 1 p 733; Lourié *Computus* EAE 1 p 784-785; Uhlig 2017 p 187 where is the list of months in Ethiopian cultural setting: Ethiopia – Greco-Coptic/Arabic – Julian – Gregorian.

³⁵ Kaplan, *Calendar, Betä Īsra'el* EAE 1 p 672; Leslau, *Falasha Anthology* p ix; Leslau 2010 p 239; Wikipedia *Beta Israel* gives the information that many Falashas have moved to Israel, even in 1980-2010 about 80 000 Falashas have been transported to Israel by Operations like Moses, Joshua and Solomon!

³⁶ Gori *Calendar, Islamic* EAE 1 p 673-674.

³⁷ Braukämper *Fandaanano* p 203-212; Bassi *Calendar, Oromo* EAE 1 p 675-676; Uhlig 2017 p 192.

³⁸ The articles mentioned later in this note give the following way to fix festivals of the EOTC: a 30 days month minus 11 gives 19 days. Then there are the gospel writers for a 4 years period of text reading: 4 x 19 gives 76 years. And a 4 year period times 7 weekdays gives 28. And 28 x 19 gives the grand circle of 532 years, which can be obtained also 7 weekdays times 76 years period summarising again 532 years grand circle. Computus

One Ethiopian way to divide liturgical year into four terms is agricultural.

First there is a windy time from 26th Mäskäräm (7th Oct) to 25 Taḥśaś (5th Jan).

Then follows the dry season from 26th Taḥśaś (6th Jan) to 25th Mäggabit (5th Apr).

The time for sowing starts from 26th Mäggabit (6th Apr) to 25th Šäne (5th July).

At the end there is rainy season from 26th Šäne (6th July) to 25th Mäskäräm (6th Oct).

Concerning the canonical music, the liturgical year is divided into three terms. The time of John the Baptist (forerunner of Christ) or the beginning of the year is from the 1st Mäskäräm to 30th Hədar (11th of Sep - 9th of Dec). During this period a prominent feast is the Mäsqäl-festival (መስቀል mäsqäl which means the exaltation of the cross³⁹).

The 2nd period is time to be merciful and time for prayer from 1st Taḥśaś to 30th Mäggabit (10th of Dec - 8th of April). An important feast of this period is the Christmas (ልደት ləḍät ‘birth’). This time includes the festival of Epiphany (6th of Jan.), to remind of the three kings from the Orient, who came to greet Jesus, the Child, because of a new star.

The 3rd period starts from Easter (ዘመነ፡ትንሣዔ zāmānā tənśa’e ‘time of resurrection’, Matt 28) and lasts to the end of the year (6th of Sept). In this time there are the festivals of Ascension Day, 40 days after Easter, and ten days later Pentecost, the feast of the Holy Spirit, and the time of rainy season, too.⁴⁰

In connection with the church festivals there are also days and times for fasting (ጸም ṣom).

Friedrich Heyer has counted that for a very devout Christian there are 254 fast days per annum. The weekly fasting days are Wednesday and Friday. In the book Fetha Nagast (‘the Law of the Kings’), there are recommendations for manners during fast days (c 180 fast days for every Christian annually) and during long fasts like before Christmas (the Fast of Prophets or the Fast of Nativity, 43 days), before Easter (ዐቢይ፡ጸም ‘Abiy ṣom ‘the Great Fast’, 55

tables can be in 19 years or in 532 circles for the EOTC calendar. There is more information on calendar systems in the following articles: Fritsch & Zanetti *Calendar, Christian* EAE 1 p 668-672; Lourié *Computus* EAE 1 p 784-787; Uhlig *Chronography* EAE 1 p 733-737; Uhlig *Abäqte* EAE 1 p 6, where is also an example, how the 19 year-table works; Pietruschka & Amha Asfaw & Getachew Haile *Bahrä ḥassab* EAE 1 p 445-446.

³⁹ In 1972 I attended Mäsqäl festival at the Mäsqäl-square with thousands of people. The Emperor HIS also was present looking at the performances including a huge bonfire and sending a big cross by a balloon into the heights. Behind this and a smaller mäsqäl festival is a legend, that the true cross of Christ was found, and one piece of it was obtained to Ethiopia from Egypt; Fritsch & Zanetti *Calendar* EAE 1 p 669; Kaplan *Mäsqäl* EAE 3 p 840; Witakoski *Mäsqäl, Legend of the Finding of the Holy Cross* EAE 3 p 842; Balicka-Witakowski *Mäsqäl, Legend of the wood of the Cross*.

⁴⁰ Fritsch & Zanetti *Calendar, Christian* EAE 1 p 669-670; Kaplan *Feasts* EAE 2 p 510-512; Heyer (1971 p 84-89) describes celebrations of the EOTC feasts in his research; Uhlig 2017 p 188.

days) etc. Falashas ('Black Jews of Ethiopia') have their own system for fasting, as well as Muslims in Ethiopia.⁴¹

In the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church there are nine main festivals for Jesus Christ. The following festivals are celebrated in all Christian churches except that the dates may vary, and the appreciation of a feast may be different. Some of these feasts have a strong affiliation with the Virgin Mary, the Mother of the Lord:⁴²

- a. The festival of incarnation (**ተስፋላት** *təsbə'ət, täsäb'a* 'become a man, become incarnated') is one centre point in EOTC's Christology. Gabriel the Angel announces nine months before Christmas to the Virgin Mary that she will have a child, who will be the Saviour (Mäggabit 29; Luke 1: 26-38). This festival is very important for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and its festival date is also used for fixing the time of Easter.
- b. The festival of the birth (**ልደት** *lədät*), Christmas, when Christ was born to Mary and Joseph in Bethlehem (Taḥśaś 29; Luke 2: 1-20).
- c. The festival of the baptism or Epiphany (**ጥምቀት** *ṭəmqaät*) in commemoration of Jesus at river Jordan, where John the Baptist is the actor (Ṭərr 11; Luke 3: 21-22).
- d. The festival of the mount Tabor (**ደብረ፡ታቦር** *däbrä tabor*) where Jesus is glorified. It's also called feast of Transfiguration (Nähase 13; Matt 17: 1-5). From the group of the twelve disciples Peter, James and John were present.

The next five feasts are movable in harmony within the Easter Sunday:

- e. The festival of the Palm Sunday (**ሆሣኖ** *hośa'əna*), when Jesus is praised while he enters the city of Jerusalem riding a donkey among the joyous crowd (Luke 19: 28-38), starts the week of passion or the holy week or the silent week. This week includes Maundy Thursday (Matt 26: 20-29) when Jesus institutes the Holy Communion, Good Friday (**ስቅለት** *səqlät*; Matt 26: 45 - 27: 61), when Jesus is condemned by the Roman Governor Pilate and Jewish leaders (John 18: 19-24, 28-40) and crucified by Romans (John 19: 17-27). Mary, the mother

⁴¹ Heyer 1971 p 79-81; Kaplan EAE 3 p 502 *Fasting, Christian*; Fritsch & Zanetti *Calendar, Christian* EAE 1 p 670; Fetha Nagast Chapter xv p 93-97; Quirin EAE 2 p 503 *Fasting, Betä Īsra'el*; Hussein EAE 3 p 504 *Fasting, Islamic*; Uhlig 2017 p 188; Leslau 2010 p 175, **ዕብሩ** 'abyä 'be great/big/large/powerful', and p 230 **ጸዕመ** *šāwāmā* / **ጸመ** *šomä* 'fast'.

⁴² Fritsch – Zanetti *Calendar/Christian Calendar* EAE 1 s 670-671; Kaplan *Feasts/Christian* EAE 2 p 510-512; Colin, *Mois de Terr* PO 45/1 p 150-7; Budge p 523-7; Uhlig 2017 p 189.

of Jesus is present with his disciples and some other women (John 19: 26-27). Holy Saturday (Mt 27: 62-66) is the eve of the Easter Sunday.

- f. The festival of resurrection or Easter (**ተንሳኤ** *tənśa'e*; between Mäggabit 26 and Miyazia 30) is one major festival in the EOTC. It is the day when angels tell women and some disciples at the tomb about the resurrection of Jesus (Matt 28: 5-10; John 20:1-18).
- g. The festival of Thomas (**ቶማስ** *tomas*) is the next Sunday from Easter, when Jesus appears to this doubtful apostle (John 20: 24-29).
- h. The festival of Ascension (**ዕርገት** *'ərgät*) is forty days after Easter. It's the day when the Lord Jesus promises the Holy Spirit to his followers and rises high up into clouds. When the apostles are watching Jesus rising to heaven, they get a message from two angels about his return (Acts 1:1-11).
- i. The festival of the Pentecost (**አራቅሊጦስ** *päraqlitos* 'defender') is ten days later, when the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, comes upon the apostles and others who believed in Jesus Christ at a Jerusalem meeting (Acts 2: 1-4).

There are around ten minor feasts for commemoration of Christ and his life during the liturgical year in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, too.⁴³

Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob (c 1440) instituted 33 Marian festivals to be annually celebrated as part of his religious reforms. Steven Kaplan divides the major 14 Marian feasts into three categories:

- a. Feasts commemorating events in St Mary's life: her Conception (7th Nāhase), her Nativity (1st Gənbət), her Entry into the temple (3rd Taḥśaś), her Falling-asleep (21st Tərr), her Assumption (16th Nāhase);
- b. Feasts commemorating miracles of the Virgin Mary: The Feast of Ildefonos (Dexios, 22nd Taḥśaś), Miracle at Saidnaya (10th Mäskäräm), Apparition at Däbrä Məṭmaq (21st Gənbət);
- c. Feasts concerning sanctuaries of the Virgin Mary: holy family at Däbrä Qwəsqaṃam Monastery (Egypt, 6th Ḥədar), the consecration of her church (Philippi, 21st Säne), the Source miracle of Jesus (Egypt, 8th Säne), building of the Marian church (Philippi, 20th Säne);
- d. Feasts regarding titles or epithets of the Virgin Mary: Mount of Zion (21st Ḥədar) and the Covenant of Mercy (16th Yäkkatit).⁴⁴

⁴³ Kaplan *Feasts, Christian* EAE 2 p 510-512; Fritsch & Zanetti *Calendar* EAE 1 p 670-671; Priess *Fasika* EAE 2 p 497-498; Heyer 1971 p 84-90; Uhlig 2017 p 188-189.

⁴⁴ Kaplan *Feasts, Christian* EAE 2 p 512; Fritsch & Zanetti *Calendar, Christian* EAE 1 p 671-672.

On the 21st day of each month there is a Marian feast. In EOTC's electric pages there is a list of 33 Marian festivals, same 14 as in Kaplan's list + 12 monthly festivals, and five Marian apparition festivals after her death. Number 32 is a miracle of her icon, and the last, 33rd feast, is the purification feast of the Virgin Mary. The writer of the EOTC's pages counts eight major Marian festivals: Conception, Nativity, Presentation, Conception of the Lord, flight to Egypt, Death of our Lady, Assumption and Appearance.⁴⁵

4. The liturgy (anaphoras)

Emanuel Fritsch gives a clear description on the Ethiopian liturgy, ቅዱስ 'sanctification' or ሥርዐተ:ቅዱስ *śar'atä qəddase* 'the order of service/Eucharist'. He divides the liturgy into three sections: a) Introduction to the Liturgy (or a preparatory service, *Śar'atä Gəbs* 'Rite of Egypt'), which is same for all anaphoras, b) Liturgy of the Word (*Śar'atä qəddase* 'Liturgy of the Word'), and c) Liturgy of the Eucharist (*Qəddase*). Fritsch also has another article after the *Qəddase* on Paraphernalia dealing with church buildings and utensils. An English version of the Liturgy Book (1954) contains c 50 pages material for preparatory services followed by 14 official anaphoras (አንፎራ 'anfora, gr αναφορά 'thanksgiving offer').⁴⁶

From these 14 official Anaphoras, አኩቴተ:ቅዱስ *akk'ätetä q'ərbān* 'thanksgiving of the offering' or 'Eucharist' (gr εὐχαριστία) the first two, the Anaphora of the Apostles and the Anaphora of the Lord were in use during Emperor (ḥaḍe/'aše) Zar'a Ya'əqob and can be the eldest ones. Number four is the Anaphora of St Mary, which is celebrated on feast days of St Mary, on Christmas Eve, on memory to the Angel Gabriel's Annunciation to the Virgin Mary (Luke 1:26-38) and on the memory day of St Heryacos (Bishop of Behnesa in Upper Egypt) who according to Ethiopian tradition wrote this Anaphora. Besides there are six additional (no 15-20) Anaphoras. Among them there are e.g. no 15 'Our Lady Mary by Giyorgis', no 18 'Our Lady Mary by Gregory' and no 19 'Our Lady Mary by Gregory or by Nathanael'. Some EOTC's clergymen use the unofficial Marian anaphora, no 15, too.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ <https://ethiopian.orthodox.org/English/calendar.html>: Religious holidays and calendar. p 2-3.

⁴⁶ Fritsch *Qəddase* EAE 4 p 271-275; idem *Paraphernalia* EAE 4 p 275-278; Liturgy 1954 p 7-55, 56-246; Aymro 1970 p 54-55; Leslau 2010 p 50, 91, 143.

⁴⁷ Habtemichael *Anaphoras* EAE 1 p 251-253; Aymro 1970 p 41-42; Heyer 1971 p 60-65; Liturgy 1954 p 39; Leslau 2010 p 144, 83; Leslau 2006 p 226.

Anaphoras (liturgy), poems, Senkessar stories and many other Ethiopic, Ge'ez texts contain a rich variety of allegory, metaphors and symbolic language especially on the Virgin Mary.

SOURCES AND PREVIOUS STUDIES

The recently published *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (ed Uhlig & Bausi with numerous contributors by Harrassowitz Verlag 2003-2014 in five volumes c 5500 pages) has an immense amount of up to date articles on the EOTC, like sources and literature, Christology, Mariology and church practises, history and persons, maps and an extensive index etc.⁴⁸ Uptodate material can also be found in Wikipedia plus in Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church's articles in web browsers, and in books recently published by the Ethiopian Church and by other publishers. There also is a new handbook type publication, *ETHIOPIA History, Culture and Challenges* (ed. Siegbert Uhlig and Appleyard, Bausi, Hahn, Kaplan in 2017). They collected material from many EAE's contributors and other experts.

The critical texts of the Ethiopic Senkessar (synaxarion) with French translations are published in the *Patrologia Orientalis* by Ignazio Guidi (1907-1913), Sylvain Grébaut (1913-1945) and Gérard Colin (1986-1997). They used two complete manuscript sets of 13 months, and seven ms sets of some months for their work. There are not many complete sets of the Ge'ez Senkessar. E. A. Wallis Budge translated **መጽሐፈ ስንክሳር** *mäṣḥafä sənḳäṣsar* 'The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church' into English 1928. He used the ms Oriental 660 and 661 in the British Museum. His English translation of ES has minor differences when compared with those in *Patrologia Orientalis*.⁴⁹

Adolf Grohmann issued and translated into German and explained some Marian hymns (Aethiopische Marienhymnen, 1919). There is for instance the extensive poem **ማጎሉተ፡ጽጌ** *maḫletä ṣäge* 'Canticle of the Flower' (156 stanzas). Chrysostome Hayoz (1956) explains in his dissertation two Ethiopic Marian hymns 'Portrait de Marie' and 'Complainte de la Vierge' (**ሰላም፡ሰላም፡ለኩሉን፡መልአክኪ** and **ሰቆቃው፡ድንግል**). Haoyz' study also has Coptic, Greek and Syrian comparative material and there is a list of Marian epithets from these two poems. The section of Literature (p 23-24) in Hayoz' study is poor. In the books of Grohmann and Hayoz there are over one hundred characteristics and emblems of the Virgin Mary, but only some of them are same as in Ethiopic Senkessar.

⁴⁸ E.g. Getatchew *EOTC* EAE 2 s 414-421.

⁴⁹ Colin & Bausi *Sənḳäṣsar* EAE 3 p 621; Honkanen 2015a p 23-25 (appendix 1).

Friedrich Heyer wrote a basic work on the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (*Die Kirche Äthiopiens*, 1971), which still has actual information. Later he issued a research on the Ethiopian saints (*Die Heiligen der Äthiopischen Erde* 1998). In his works there is valuable knowledge from the mariological point of view, too.

Verena Böll issued her dissertation ‘Unsere Herrin Maria’, the Traditional Ethiopic Exegesis of the Anaphora of St. Mary by Cyriacus of Behnesa (1998). Her book contains much knowledge about Ethiopian Mariology including the commentary of the said Anaphora in Amharic, and its translation into German. Maija Priess wrote a dissertation about the Ethiopian Chrysostomos-Anaphora (2006). Her book also has the Ge’ez text with German translation. It contains some Mariology, too. Priess has also written ‘A Lexicon of Ge’ez Verbs for students’ (2015).

There actually is quite a lot of information on Ethiopic Literature in the book ‘Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: Ethiopian’ in the series ‘The Worlds of Eastern Christianity, 300-1500 AD’. Its editor is Alessandro Bausi (2012), and the book contains 21 articles on Medieval Ethiopian history from different authors. Bausi works now as the Director of Iob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian studies at the University of Hamburg. Serafim Seppälä in the University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, has produced two books concerning the early Christian Mariology in Finnish: ‘Elämän äiti’ (The Mother of Life: The Virgin Mary at early Christian Theology, 2010), and ‘Naiseus’ (Womanhood, Early Christian and Jewish viewpoints, 2013). His works are excellent, but he does not use Ethiopic texts.

Wolf Leslau has brought out much linguistic material on Semitic languages of Ethiopia in his dictionaries, grammars and articles on Amharic, Ge’ez, Gurage, Falashas etc. Great help for me have been his Comparative Dictionary (1987/2006) and Concise Dictionary (1989/2010) of Ge’ez. I recently wrote a review on Leslau’s large Reference Grammar of Amharic (1995), and another review on the basic Ethiopic Grammar of August Dillmann (1857, revised by Carl Bezold 1899 & translated by James Chrichton 1907).

MY STUDY ON MARIAN EPITHETS

My teacher in church history, Kauko Pirinen suggested to me 1974 to study the Ethiopic Senkessar (ES, synaxarion), because during my first stay in Ethiopia I acquired Amharic language. Soon after that I studied three years Semitic languages and general history at the Helsinki University, and later also continued my church history studies. I retired 2010, and started to collect material for this study, e.g. all Ethiopic Senkessar texts from *Patrologia Orientalis*. ES is a significant and large collection of Ethiopic hagiographic texts, which still are in use in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Traditionally there are 33 festivals for the Virgin Mary. I selected the ES passages for my research according to the article of Emmanuel Fritsch and Ugo Zanetti (EAE 1 p 671-672), who state that there are five major Marian festivals, whose texts are my main concern, and nine minor feasts of the Virgin Mary, which I'll comment on shortly. These 14 ES texts I translated from Ge'ez into Finnish. The rest 19 Marian festival texts I'll leave out of this concise study. They only have limited material on the Virgin Mary.

The manuscripts behind those ES texts in *Patrologia Orientalis* date from the 15th to the 19th centuries (Appendix 1). I also use the Anaphora of St Mary by Heryacos of Behnesa for comparison of the Marian attributes. This Anaphora (no 4) is more recent than two elder ones, the Anaphora of the Apostles or the Anaphora of the Lord, which are more commonly in use in services of EOTC.

My main task is to clear which kind picture the selected Ethiopic Senkessar texts and their Marian attributes give to the Virgin Mary. I'll pick up the attributes or epithets connected with her, translate and interpret them. Then I'll check the personal information concerning the Virgin Mary in the selected ES texts and tell which kind family circle it gives to her. Thirdly I'll explain what these selected texts tell about the Virgin Mary as an intercessor and mediator of salvation in connection with the Covenant of Mercy between the Virgin Mary and the Lord Jesus Christ.

Last I also compare the attributes of my study from the ES passages with the corresponding terms in the Anaphora of St Mary (AnM) in the EOTC's liturgy, which is still in use mainly in Ge'ez language. I suppose that the attributes of the Virgin Mary are quite similar in ES

texts and in the Anaphora of St Mary. It would need another study to clear the backgrounds of those Marian attributes. In this study I'll concentrate neither on the manuscripts nor on church fathers, but more on linguistic explanation.

In transliteration I mainly follow the usage in Leslau's dictionaries and in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (e.g. EAE, Vol. 1 p xix-xxi), even if the table in EAE is a combination of Ge'ez and Amharic alphabets. I use signs and characters of the International Phonetic Alphabets (IPA) in my computer's symbol list.⁵⁰

There are certain words which researchers have written in different ways like Ge'ez or Gə'əz, Senkessar or Sənkəssar or Sənkəsār and Haile Selassie or Ḥaylā Šəllase. In normal presentation I prefer to use the forms like Ge'ez, Senkessar and Haile Selassie.

In transliteration I write the 6th form of both **አ** (**ḥ**) and **ዐ** (**ḍ**) in my transliteration with *ə*, and usually I don't leave it away. In ordinary writing I may use *e*. I write the 1st form of fidäls with *ä* like in Amharic (except **አ** 'a, **ዐ** 'a, **ሀ** ha, **ሐ** ḥa and **ኀ** ḥa) and the 4th form with *a*, like in the *Lexicon of Maija Priess*. The explosive (emphatic) fidäls **ጸ** and **ፀ** I transliterate with *ṣ* and *ḍ* according to August Dillmann and Wolf Leslau. For the emphatic Amharic fidäls **፩** and **፪** (if needed) I use a transliterate mark *ʔc* and *ḥ* (app 3). Both diphthongs -*wi* and -*wa* with labiovelars I write in same way as **ቀ** and **ከ** (app 3). In my computer program I haven't found ge'ez/amharic numbers.

One difficulty to find exact words in dictionaries is, that copyists of manuscripts write some fidäls (alphabets) lexically incorrect because of similar pronunciation (e.g. laryngeals **አ** 'a & **ዐ** 'a, fricatives **ሀ** ha, **ሐ** ḥa & **ኀ** ḥa, sibilants **ሠ** sä & **ሰ** sä and glottalized **ጸ** ṣä & **ፀ** ḍä).

Other mistakes and omissions do also exist in Ge'ez manuscripts (e.g. spelling, wording, omissions or other differences). I use the mark 'corr' and write lexically correct form or root, when needed, inside the text or in notes.

The words **አምላክ** *amlak* and **እግዚአብሔር** 'əgzi'abher mean normally 'God'. As a rule I translate the shorter form **እግዚእ** 'əgzi'ə 'the Lord' (Jesus Christ, the Master), and **እግዚእት**

⁵⁰ EAE 1 p xix-xxi there is a practical table 2 'Gə'əz script'. The table could rather be named 'Combined script of Gə'əz and Amharic'. There are 26 **ፈፃፀ** (**ፈፃፀት** pl) *fidäl* 'consonants' in Gə'əz and 35 fidäls in Amharic plus labiovelars, with seven forms per each consonant.

‘əgzə’ət ‘the Lady’ (the Virgin Mary). The Bible references are in parenthesis as well as the references to the Anaphora of St Mary. Other sources I normally place into footnotes. There is a common usage in Ethiopian studies that amharic/ge’ez words are written in bold typing.

In the critical texts of *Patrologia Orientalis* the booklets have marks like Tomus 1, (Fasciculus) IV. Later in PO there is Tome, Fascicule and Number. In footnotes I simply write 1/4 plus the page number or in Colin’s versions the number of a part (like 123) and the page number. From the years 1904-2014 there are 44 fasciculi (booklets) in PO’s Ethiopic texts, and also all daily readings of the Ethiopic Senkessar with French translations. In the collection of CSCO, *Scriptores Aethiopici*, there are 55 booklets with translations from the years 1903-2014. At the moment there are over one hundred different critical Ethiopic texts in those two large printed collections.⁵¹

Wikipedia with web browsers has much information on EOTC and Ethiopia, but there is not always the author of a text mentioned. I seldom use those sources in this study.

This research is a very concise one, and it should be widened with more comprehensive comparison of other Ethiopic texts. One later study could be to compare the picture of the Virgin Mary in Ethiopic Senkessar with the Coptic Synaxarion.

⁵¹ Honkanen 2015a p 31.

PICTURE OF THE VIRGIN MARY IN THE ETHIOPIC SENKESSAR TEXTS OF MAJOR MARIAN FESTIVAL

The emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob (1399-1468) order to celebrate annually 33 Marian festivals. But according to the Ethiopian tradition people must at least attend the following five Marian festivals: 1) the falling asleep (Ṭərr 21), 2) the covenant of mercy (Yäkkatit 16), 3) the nativity (Gənbət 1), 4) the consecration of her church at Philippi (Säne 21), and 5) the assumption (Nähase 16).⁵² The Anaphora of St. Mary is celebrated on the previous five Marian feast days, and on the Christmas Eve (Tahsas 28), on the Annunciation day (Mäggabit 29), and on the memorial day of St. Heryacos, the bishop of Behnesa in Upper Egypt (Ṭəkəmp 2).⁵³

Verena Böll, based on Chrysostome Hayoz and Stephen Uhlig, states that the Anaphora of St Mary is not translated from Arabic but it is written in Ethiopia.⁵⁴

1. ሰረፍታ 'Īräfta 'her falling asleep' Ṭərr 21 / January 29

Mary's dying day

ዐረፈ/አዐረፈ ('aräfä) 'a'räfä 'rest, find/give relief, die, be at ease, give/make rest'. This verb which is used for dying, includes the idea that for those who lived in Christian unity, death is a relief, rest and peace. This feast is not mentioned in the New Testament. Serafim Seppälä writes that Marian festivals have come from the eastern churches, and this festival as her dying day is mentioned in the Georgian hymnal, Tropologion, around 600 AD. In Ethiopia this feast is on the 29th of January. Many orthodox churches celebrate the falling asleep festival of the Mother of God on the 15th of August.⁵⁵

In the beginning of every Senkessar reading there is the trinity formula:

በስሙ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡አሐዱ፡አምላክ

bäsmä ab wäwäld wämänfäs qəddus 'aḥadu 'amlak

⁵² Haile Mary EAE 3 p 808; Kaplan – Derat, *Zär'a Ya'eqob* EAE 5 p 146-148; Kaplan *Feasts* EAE 2 p 512; Seppälä 2010 p 228; more Marian feasts later on page 58.

⁵³ Liturgy 1954 p 104; I realized in 1972 while being in Ethiopia that on Marian festival days churches were normally crowded; Heryacos is better known as Cyriacos of Behnesa, Böll p 4; Aymro 1970 p 59-60 states that there are 9 major festivals of the Virgin Mary annually.

⁵⁴ Böll p 5.

⁵⁵ OP 201 p 150; Leslau 2006 p 69-70; Idem 2010 p 173; Fritsch & Zanetti *Calendar, Christian* EAE 1 p 671; Andämta-commentary in Böll 1998 p 119-120, 295 col 4; Seppälä 2010 p 226-227.

‘In the name (of) the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, (only) one God.’⁵⁶

ስም *səm* ‘name, fame, reputation’ comes from the verb **ስምየ** *sämäyā* ‘give a name, call’.

This gives an idea that there is someone who has a name, who can be called, and who calls and listens people. (See also **ስምዐ** *säm’a* ‘hear, listen, obey, understand’, and **ስማይ** *sämay* ‘heaven, sky’ (all levels of sky together).⁵⁷

አብ ‘*ab*’ ‘father, forfather, owner’ is about the same in most Semitic languages.

(See also **አቦአ** ‘*abo’a*’ ‘let enter, let proceed, admit, bring’, which is a causative of **በወአ/ቦአ** *bäwä’a/bo’a* ‘enter, penetrate, proceed, have intercourse’, and **ዐብየ** ‘*abyä*’ ‘be, great, be important, be powerful’). It gives the feeling of a powerful father, owner or creator who admits his children to make plans and to be active, and even protects them.⁵⁸

ወወልድ *wäwäld* ‘and the son, child, boy, disciple, servant’ where the root is **ወለድ** *wälädä* ‘give birth, bear a child, conceive’. The trinity formula gives the impression, that there is clear unity between the father (God) and the son (Jesus) by birth (see also John 13:16).⁵⁹

ወመንፈስ *wämänfäs* ‘and (God’s) spirit, wind, breath, person’ which comes from the root **ነፍስ** *näfsä* ‘blow’ (see also **አንፈስ** ‘*anfäsä*’ ‘breathe, exhale, rest, revive, soothe’). This implies the work of the triune God or the holy trinity. It also gives an idea that the work of the triune God is often invisible.⁶⁰

ቅዱስ *qəddus* ‘holy, saint, sacred, consecrated, dedicated’ is derived from **ቀደስ** *qäddäsä* ‘sanctify, make holy, consecrate’, and it expresses that the spirit of God should be (kept) holy, high and respected. (See also p 41)

አሐዱ ‘*aḥadu*’ ‘one, a certain, same, only one’, of which especially the last one fits well in the trinity formula. (See also **ዋሐድ/አዋሐድ** *wahadä/awahadä* ‘unite one with another, make one’; and on the page 18: **ተዋሕዶ** ‘made one with each other, declare to be one’). The work of the triune God is largely explained by many symbolic words in the Anaphora of St. Mary, like thinking, creating, granting grace and having authority (e.g. AnM verses 57-67). In EOTC’s liturgy there are many metaphors which explain the action of the Triune God. One example of the Marian Anaphora with its Andəmta-commentar goes like this: ‘The Father is

⁵⁶ PO no 201 p 150; the Trinity formula can be at the end of a daily reading, too.

⁵⁷ PO no 201 p 150; Leslau 2006 p 504, 501-502, 699; the word Semitic comes from that word; *bä-* means ‘in’, *wä-* ‘and’; see also Dillmann 1907 p 219.

⁵⁸ PO no 201 p 150; Leslau 2006 p 2; idem 2010 p 101, 138, 175; Dillmann 1907 p 219.

⁵⁹ PO no 201 p 150; Leslau 2010 p 159; Dillmann 1907 p 216.

⁶⁰ PO no 201 p 150; Leslau 2006 p 389; Dillmann 1907 p 245: *mä-*prefix may express the nature and manner of action.

the sun (*He is the disc of the sun*), the Son is the sun (*He is the solar emission*), and the Holy Spirit is the sun (*He is the heat of the sun*), but it is one sun of righteousness over all. The Father is fire (*charcoal*), the Son is fire (*flames*), and the Holy Spirit is fire (*heat*), but it is one fire of life from the highest heaven. The Father is the dawn (*substance/body*), the Son is the dawn (*light*), and the Holy Spirit is the dawn (*extension*), through this one dawn, by the ray of its light, the darkness was destroyed' (AnM 73-75). In Andämta explanation the main question is the oneness of God and his three ways to be active. The trinity formula also arouses the question about unity between God and mankind.⁶¹

አምላክ 'amlak 'Lord, God' comes from the verb **ሙለክ** *mäläkä* 'own, possess, dominate', rule' (causativ 'let rule/dominate', but also **አምላክ** 'amläkä 'worship God/deity/idols'). God can mean someone, to whom all power is given, and as a creator He is the owner, too.⁶² All the Ge'ez words of the trinity formula have common Semitic roots. According to the Andämta-interpretation everyone of these three persons of the trinity is a strong godhead without trespass, is different from false deities, stays above anger and angels, and people are praising everyone of these three, separately and together in oneness.⁶³

Concept of the trinity in the EOTC is verbally non-chalcedon or miaphysite, but in practice about the same as in western/greek orthodox churches. And the ecumenical movement tries to gain understanding for this view among orthodox and other churches.

In the beginning of the Ge'ez lesson for this festival day there are the traditional attributes of the Virgin Mary.

በዛቲ፡ዕለት፡አዕረፈት፡እግዝእት፡ቅድስት፡ድንግል፡ንጽሕት፡ማርያም፡ወላዲተ፡አምላክ፡

ዘበአማን፡እግዝእት፡ኩሉን፡አንስተ፡ዝኣለም *bäzati 'älät 'a'äräfät 'əgzä 'tänä qəddäst dängəl nəṣhət maryam wäladitā amlak zäbä 'aman əgzä 'tänä kʷəllon anəstä zə 'aläm*

⁶¹ PO no 201 p 150; Liturgy 1954 p 110-112; *Andämta* in Böll 1998 p 178-188, p 315-317 col 3; Leslau 2006 p 12, 609; idem 2010 p 160; The verb 'think' corr **ኃለየ** *hälläyā* is a rich and extensive word Leslau 2006 p 262 & 2010 p 111; see also **አለየ** *hälläyā* 'sing' Leslau 2010 p 14; Böll p 185-186, the text of the AnM continues with symbols 'wine' and 'milk'.

⁶² PO no 201 p 150; Leslau 2006 p 343-344; Idem 2010 p 29-30; I translate the word 'amlak by God, and 'əgzä'abher by the Lord.

⁶³ PO no 201 p 150; *Andämta* in Böll 1998 p 128, and amharic text p 298-299; Böll translates strong godhead as strong respect or worship; Stoffregen-Pedersen & Abraha *Andämta* EAE 1 p 258-259; for ES there is no commentary, but it works as a source for *Andämta* literature.

‘This day fall asleep the Lady (of the land), holy virgin, pure Mary, bearer of God, really the lady of all women of the earth’.⁶⁴

Nearly the same attributes recur about twenty lines later.

ቤተልሐም፡በእንተ፡ቅድስት፡ድንግል፡ንጽሕት፡ማርያም፡እሙ፡ለእግዚእነ፡ኢየሱስ፡ክርስቶስ

betä ləḥam bā'antä qəddəst dāngəl nəṣḥət maryam əmmu lä'əgzi'ənä iyäsus krəstos

‘(apostles came to) Betlehem where the holy Virgin, pure Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ (was)’.⁶⁵

እግዝእት(ነ) ‘mistress (our), (ruling) lady, owner (of an estate), sovereign’; (our Lady) comes from the root **ገዝእ** *gäz'a* I: ‘dominate, master’ and causative: ‘put in charge of’; and II sense: ‘serve (at a feast)’; causative: ‘cause to serve’; (in Arabic *ğazā* ‘reward’); (Amharic: **ገዛ** *gäzza* ‘buy, posses, govern, dominate’).

English ‘Lady’ (a noble woman/girl); French ‘Dame’ (*maîtresse, souveraine*); Finnish ‘Valtiatar’, (*Herratar*, the one who has power, mistress); German ‘Herrin’, (*Herrscherin*); Greek *Basilissa*; Latin *Domina*, *Hera*.⁶⁶

This attribute of the Virgin Mary with its translations implies that she is really an important and powerful figure beside Christ in God’s plan to save mankind.

Lady of all women could also mean that she is the ideal or model for every woman, and she even is called the Queen of heaven and the earth.⁶⁷

ማርያም *maryam* (gr *Mariam*, lat *Maria*) ‘Mary, Miriam’ comes from the root **ሙረረ** *märärä* ‘be bitter, be grieved, be angry’.⁶⁸ This could portrait a sad or bitter or reactive person. The NT gives little information on the Virgin Mary, who gave birth to Jesus. The holy family belonged to the king David’s house (Matt 1: 6-16, 18). This point opens a perspective into mariology from the point of view, that she is the mother of Jesus, who has come from Mary (from David’s house), from the Holy Spirit and from God (ἕκ θεοῦ: Matt 1:20, Luke 1:35; John 1:13; see also **ሙርሐ** *mārha* ‘lead, guide’ & **ሙረየ** *märräyā* ‘act divine’).⁶⁹

⁶⁴ PO 201 p 150; Budge 1928 p 523.

⁶⁵ PO 201 p 152; the scene is both Bethlehem and Gethsemane (Mt of Olives/*Däbrä Zäyt*).

⁶⁶ Leslau 2010 p 210; idem 2006 p 210; idem 1976 p 215.

⁶⁷ PO 201 p 150-151: ms D has the text: **ንግስተ፡ሰማያት፡ወምድር** *nəgəstā sāmayat wāmədər* ‘the queen of the heaven and the earth’; Leslaw 2010 p 128 **ነግሠ** *nəgśā* ‘become king/ruler, rule, reign’; Seppälä 2010 p 81 tells that the idea of womanly model comes from Origenes (c 184-253 AD).

⁶⁸ PO no 201 p 150-156; Leslau 2010 p 32-33: see also **ሙረየ** I / **ሙርያን** *marəyan* ‘magician, sorcerer’ (pl); II *mərya* ‘alternate’.

⁶⁹ Seppälä 2010 p 18; Leslau 2010 p 32-33..

ቅድስት *qəddəst* ‘sanctity’, and fem form from the **ቅዱስ** *qəddus* ‘holy, saint, sacred, consecrated, dedicated’, describes the life of the Virgin Mary from her childhood to her passing to heaven. She has similarity and strong connection with the holy triune God. Also p 38: **ቅድስ** *qəddäsä* ‘sanctify, make holy, consecrate’.

Arabic *qadusa*; Hebrew *qāḏaš*; Amharic *qäddäsä* ‘sanctify, celebrate Mass’; English ‘holy, saint’; Finnish ‘pyhä’; French ‘saint, sacré’; German ‘heilig’; Greek ‘agios/agia’; Latin ‘sanctus/sancta’.⁷⁰

ድንግል *dəngəl* ‘virgin, celibate (monk), chaste (young man)’ comes from the root **ድንገለ/ድነገለ** *dän(ä)gälä* ‘watch virginity’⁷¹. This question has been discussed since the beginning of the Christian Church. It has three different levels: 1) virginity before giving birth to Jesus, 2) virginity during the birthprocess and 3) virginity after giving birth to Jesus. In medieval Christian tradition it also means both the physical and spiritual virginity. The word ‘virgin’ appears only in few Bible verses (Is 7:14 & Luke 1:34). In some translations there is ‘a young girl’ or ‘virum non cognosco’ (Lat & Gr). *Andəmta* stresses that angels of heaven, not youngsters, visited the young Mary (AnM 43). In ES the word ‘Virgine’ is mostly used as a honorary title.⁷²

ንጽሕት *nəṣḥət* (fem) ‘pure, clean, spotless, chaste, innocent, blameless’ is a very demanding word which comes from the verb **ንጽሐ** *nəṣḥa* ‘be pure, be clean, be purified, guiltless’. Such a person, in this case the Virgin Mary, can even be compared with God who is innocent. In *Amdemta* she is told to be free from any sin. ‘O Virgin, thou wast not conceived through unclean lust, but in lawful marriage wast thou born from Hanna and Eliakim.’ Mary is also decorated with holiness and purity (AnM verse 38-45).⁷³

ወለዲተ፡አምላክ *wäladitā* ‘*amlak* ‘God-bearer, Mother of God’ (words explained on p 38-39). There is another version **እሙ፡ለእግዚእነ** *əmmu lä’əgzi’ənä* ‘the mother of our Lord’. Just before her death Mary had prayed to see John the Apostle, who immediately came by clouds from Ephesus to her, and said:

⁷⁰ PO no 201 p 150; Budge p 523, 524; Leslau 2010 p 91; idem 2006 422-423; Dillmann p 278.

⁷¹ PO no 201 p 150; Kidane 1955 p 354; Dästa 1970 p 366.

⁷² *Andəmta* in Böll 1998 p 93, 118, 295 col 3; Seppälä 2010 p 69,78 follows the discussion on virginity through the early Church, e.g. Tertullian and Origen.

⁷³ PO no 201 p 150; *Andəmta* in Böll 1998 p161-162, 310; idem p 167, 312; Getachew Haile & Nosnitsin *Mariology* EAE 3 p 809.

ተፈሥሐ፡ኦምልእተ፡ጸጋ፡እንተ፡ወለድኪዮ፡ለእግዚእነ፡ወመድኃኒነ

täfäśśəhi oməl'ätä şägga 'əntä wälädkiyo lä'əgzi'ənä wämädhaninä

‘Rejoice, o you who are full with grace, you who gave birth to our Lord and Redeemer!’

(AnM 22; grace is explained on p 53).

All this type of sayings and stories mean that mariological discussion continues in medieval Christian churches. Serafim Seppälä writes that Origen the churchfather (184-253 AD), de facto, is ‘the father’ of the theotokos-discussion, where the main questions are the virginity of Mary and the Mother of God concepts (for ex AnM 1, 83 and 155, where it includes the verse 101 from the AnA with words: ‘Christ took Godhead from the Lady of us all, the holy Mary of twofold virginity...’ and AnM 173).⁷⁴

Mary was blessed and favoured by God (Luke 1: 42), and greatly honoured by angels and by the disciples. It is also written in the Anaphora of St. Mary (QM & AnM 11)

በእንተ፡ብዕዕት⁷⁵ ፡ወፍሥሕት፡ወስብሕት፡በኩሉ፡ወቡርክት፡ወቅድስት፡ወንጽሕት፡እግዝእትነ፡

ወላዲተ፡ኦምላክ፡ማርያም፡ድንግል *bä'əntä bəḍə'ət wäfəśḥat wäsəbḥat bāk'əllu wäburəkt*

wäqəddəst wänäṣḥat əgza'etənä wäladitā amlak maryam dəngəl

‘For the sake of the blessed, happy, prosperous, holy and pure Virgin Mary our Lady, Parent of God, (she is) glorified by all’.

ወፍሥሕት *wäfəśśəḥat* (fem) ‘(and) glad, joyful, jubilant, merry, pleasant, happy, joyous, cheerful’, which comes from **ፈሥሐ/ተፈሥሐ** *täfäśśəḥa* ‘rejoice, be glad/merry, enjoy oneself’ (Heb *pəsaḥ* ‘dance’; see also **ፍሥሕ** *fəśḥ* ‘Passover, Easter’). Even if Mary’s life was not easy, a picture of joyful mother is often given to her. This attribute can mean a model for women, too.⁷⁶

In this festival text of the ES the Holy Spirit told about Mary’s departure from this life:

ይእተ፡ትወዕእ፡እምዝንቱ፡ኣለም፡በዓቢይ፡ስብሐት *yə'ti ('anti) təwäḍ'ə 'əməzəntu aläm bä'abiyy*

səbḥat ‘this (you f) goes from this world by great glory’. The verb **ስብሐ** *səbbəḥa* ‘praise,

extol, glorify, sing a hymn, celebrate, honour’ is again an extensive expression for a famous

person like another verb in some manuscripts **ከብረ** *käbrä* ‘be honoured/glorious/

⁷⁴ PO 201 p 150-152; Budge p 523-524; Haile & Nosnitsin *Mariology* EAE 3 p 809; Seppälä 2010 p 83-84; Liturgy 1954 p 113 where is the order to cite 1) preparatory service 174 (p 41), and 2) Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom 64-67 (p 203) concerning the Mother of God.

⁷⁵ PO no 201 p 152 (line 32): is an example of a lexical change (mistake: similar also in AnM 11): Leslau 2010 p 105-106: **በጽዕ** ‘esteem, be blessed’ and **በዕዕ** ‘make a vow, consecrate’ Leslau 2010 p 105 & 106; translation here is from the English version of AnM 11.

⁷⁶ Leslau 2006 p 168 & 2010 p 241.

magnificent/great/famous/ precious’. Glorification and commemoration of the Virgin Mary increased in Ethiopia after the Emperor Zär’a Ya’eqob (1399-1468). Even it is stated in the Anaphora of St Mary: ‘God granted his Mother (the Virgin Mary) to be glorified through this Anaphora’ (AnM 173), and there is plenty of her extolling in this Anaphora.⁷⁷

In this festival reading the Virgin Mary prays many times. And there are two verbs which describe her prayers: **ጸለዋ** *ṣälläyā* ‘pray, make a vow, beg, plead, interced’ and **ሰለለ** *sä’alä* ‘ask, demand, enquire, make a request/petition, beseech, intercede, pray, beg’. Beside this kind of demanding prayers she gives thanks and glorifies God (Luke 1:46-49).

She was full of grace, and blessed the apostles and the virgins who were present:

ወአንበረት፡እደሃ፡ዲቤሆሙ፡ወባረከቶሙ፡ለኩሉሙ

wä’انبärät ‘ədeha dibehomu wäbaräkätomu läkʷəllomu

‘and she laid her hands upon them and blessed everyone’.⁷⁸

The verb **ባረከ** *baräkä* has also a variety of meanings like ‘bless, praise, worship, celebrate, salute. bid farewell, congratulate, (and even) curse’, (Ar *bāraka*; Heb *bāreḵ*; see also the verb **በረከ** *bäräkä* ‘kneel, kneel down’). There is another verb, which is used for the Virgin Mary, **በጸዐ** *bäṣ’a* ‘be blessed/fortunate/honoured’ (see also **በፅዐ** *bäḍ’a* ‘make a vow, consecrate’ in footnote 74).⁷⁹

In the passage for this festival day the author tells about many miraculous events around the Virgin Mary, and even miracles/signs happened on her dying day, as the Holy Spirit had promised her. (See p 26 **ተአምረ፡ጣርያም** ‘Miracles of Mary’.)⁸⁰

Here is a list of miraculous signs of this reading:

1) As an answer to Mary’s petition to meet the disciples of the Lord, whether living or the ones whose souls were in heaven, they came to her, riding upon clouds of light. First came John, the apostle, from the city Ephesus. Even the dead apostles rose from their graves. They extolled the mother of God, the Virgin Mary. They praised the Almighty God, prayed with incense and summoned their Lord Jesus Christ to visit them. 2) His son, Jesus, came to

⁷⁷ PO 201 p 152: in Colin’s notes there are differences between ms like note 20 in ms D, E, P: **ክብር፡ወስብሐት**; AnM verses 4, 9, 11 29 etc; Andemta p 113, 293; Leslau 2010 p 70, 153.

⁷⁸ PO 201 p 154; Leslau 2006 p 7, 105; see also Acts 1:9 and Luke 24:50.

⁷⁹ PO 201 p 152,154; Leslau 2010 p 98; Idem 2006 p 105.

⁸⁰ PO 201 p 152-154; Witakowski & Bausi **ተአምረ፡ጣርያም** *tä’amməra Maryam* EAE 4 p789-793.

comfort her with tens of thousands of angels (or all the angels). 3-10) At the same time many miracles happened: all sorts of illnesses were healed in the neighbourhood, and evil spirits left their victims. 11) Our Lord Christ took her pure soul, and wrapped it in a cloth of light and took it to the heavenly habitation. 12) At that moment our Lady saw a great, indescribable light. 13) When the apostles were carrying her body to Gethsemane, some Jews tried to prevent it and throw her off from the bier. One God's angel cut an offender's hand off by his fire sword. Then the fellow confessed that Mary is the mother of Lord, and even God herself. This Jew prayed for compassion and was healed by apostles' prayer.

14) After Mary's burial angels were carrying her body to the Garden of Delight to be placed under the Tree of Life. 15) Thomas, the Apostle, was on his way to meet others, and he greeted the body of the Virgin Mary which angels were carrying upto heaven. Afterwards he told the apostles about his meeting with the angels and her body. They could not any more find Mary's body in the grave. 16) Jesus and Mary also promised to visit the apostles on 16th day of Nāhase, and He fulfilled this promise. 17) The Virgin Mary really did a covenant of mercy with the Lord Jesus.⁸¹ Not any of these miracles is told in the Bible, nor the Virgin Mary's pact with the Lord Jesus.

Basics of the Covenant of Mercy are already in this ES text but there is more about it in the next chapter (p 46-52). Here the Virgin Mary asks more power for herself in order to help suffering people. The covenant between her and the Lord Jesus Christ in this passage the includes the following points):

- 1) When anyone prays to the Lord Jesus in Mary's name he could get his prayer answered,
- 2) The person who prays in her name could be delivered from all his tribulations,
- 3) Such person would also escape the eternal perish,
- 4) Those who celebrate commemoration of Mary's name would gain blessing,
- 5) Jesus would accept offerings given in Mary's name for those in need,
- 6) Jesus will act as an intercessor with his heavenly Father in favour of those persons.⁸²

At the end of this reading there is a textual biography of the Virgin Mary according to the Ethiopian tradition. It narrates that the Virgin Mary belongs by fatherside to David's house (Matt 1:1-16; Luke 1:32). By motherside she belongs to Aron's tribe, and is the aunt of John

⁸¹ PO 201 p 152-156; Budge p 527 writes 17th instead of 16th of Nāhase; CSCO 66-69 De Transitu Mariae by Victor Arras 1973-1974.

⁸² PO 201 p 152-155; see the next festival reading of Yäkkatit 16.

the Baptist (Luke 1:39-45). ES text of the 21st Terr gives the following information about the family cycle of the Virgin Mary, whose lifetime is altogether around sixty years.

Three years she stays with her parents, in nursing care of the mother Hanna and the father Joakim, whose names are in the next reading. The story of her elderly parents and her bringing into the temple is in the text of Tahsas 3 (see p 59).⁸³

The Virgin Mary grows 12 years in the temple (from 3 to 15 of age).

Mary is the mother of Christ, bearer of God. She lives 34 years with Joseph (Mt 1: 18,24; Luke 2:5). After the crucifixion of her son, Jesus Christ, Mary stays 14 years in the house of John, the evangelist (John 19:26, 27). She prays continually at Jesus' grave at *Däbrä Zäyt* 'Mt of Olives', or she goes to pray to Golgotha, to Jesus' grave.

Mary was in Bethlehem, when apostles came to see her before her death.

The conclusion of this chapter in the Ethiopic Senkesar is about the same as in other lessons.

ጸሎታ፡ወበረከታ፡ወትንብልናሃ፡የሀሉ፡ምስሌን፡ወምስለ፡ኩሉ፡ውሉደ፡ጥምቀት፡አሜን

ṣālota wäbärākāta wātənbəlnaha yāhalu məslenä wäməslä kʷəllomu wəluḍ təmqät amen

'Her prayer and her blessing, and her⁸⁴ intercession, be with us and with all baptized (children of baptism). Amen.'

ተንበለ *tənbälä* 'intercede, act as an intercessor (*tənbali* or *tənbäl* 'intercessor, mediator'), be an ambassador', which word is often used at the end of a ES reading (e.g. p 48). The Virgin Mary's task as an intercessor is based in Ethiopic texts on the facts that she is the Mother of Christ, and that she made the covenant of mercy with Him.⁸⁵

2. ኪዳን፡ምስረት *kidanä məhrät* 'covenant of mercy' festival

The Pact between Mary and Jesus

Yäkkatit 16 / February 23

In the first part of this lesson there is mentioned the death of the Saint Elisabeth, the mother of John the Baptist. The author of the passage also writes about the genealogy of John the

⁸³ PO 201 p 156-157: 12 + 34 + 14 = 60 years (plus 2-3 years at home, not mentioned in this text); Budge p 527: 3 + 12 + 30 + 15 = c 60 years; ms may differ in estimation of Mary's lifetime; Seppälä 2010 p 33-35 writes that the narratives about Mary's childhood are mainly from the Gospel (Proto gospel) of James (c 145 AD).

⁸⁴ PO 201 p 156-157: in Colin's French translation instead of 'her' (Mary) there is 'his' (Jesus); In the ES text the object of prayer is the Lord via the Virgin Mary; Budge (p 527) does not have this ending formula, but a salutation to her soul and death without fear and with likeness of marriage.

⁸⁵ Leslau 2006 p 576-577: Dillmann suggests that the verb **ተንበለ** comes from prefix *tän* and *bl* from verb **በሀለ** *bəhlä* 'say'; idem 2010 p 94; Dillmann 1866 p 218.

Baptist (Luke 1:5-23) and the Lord Jesus. There was a certain man, son of Mattat from Aaron's tribe, by name **Levi** who had three girls:

1) (the elder) Mary, the mother of Salome 'who accompanied our Lady Mary when she brought forth the wonder (Jesus)' **እንተተቀበለታ፡ለእግዝእትነ፡ማርያም፡በጊዜ፡ልደታ፡**

መንከር፡ 'əntä täqäbbäläta lä'əqzə'ətənä maryam bägize lädäta mänkər.

2) Sophia was the mother of St. Elizabeth (Luke 1: 5, 36), who was the wife of the priest Zacharias/Zechariah, and they were the parents of John the Baptist, the prophet, the preacher, the Saint (this narrative is similar to the story about Samuel, the Prophet of Israel, 1. Sam: 1:1,20,28).

3) Hanna (Anna) was the wife of priest Joakim, and they are the parents of the Virgin Mary (AnM 38). Salome, Elisabeth and the Virgin Mary are cousins (**ተአጎወ** *tä'ahawä* 'be brother/sister/kinsman/friend').⁸⁶

The author of ES then tells about the meeting of two women, Elisabeth the mother of John the Baptist, and the Lady Mary the mother of the Lord (Luke 1:39-45). The writer continues that during Mary's visit in Elisabeth's home, John the Baptist, her kinsman in his mother's womb, speaks and bows to Jesus.

ወካዕበ፡ከሙድብጻሕ፡ጊዜ፡ዘትፀንስ፡እግዝእት፡ቅድስት፡ድንግል፡ማርያም፡ለቃለ፡እግዚአብሔር፡

ዘለዓለም፡ሁሉ፡ *wäka 'əbä kämä yäbsah gize zätəḏännəs 'əgzə'ət qəddəst dəngəl maryam*

läqalä 'əgzi'abher zäläaläm hallo 'When the time came, the Holy Virgin Mary gave birth to (her son) the Word of God who will be for ever' (Gal 4:4). The words **ለቃለ፡እግዚአብሔር**

läqalä 'əgzi'abher 'to the Word of God' also imply the Greek concept of logos (λόγος) as in the New Testament **ቀዳሚሁ፡ቃል፡ወቱ፡ኅበ፡እግዚአብሔር** *kädamihu qal wātu həbä*

'əgzi'abher 'in the beginning there was the Word', and **ወወእቱ፡ቃል፡ሥጋ፡ኮነ** *wäwə'ətu qal šəga konä* 'and the Word became flesh' (John 1:1,14).⁸⁷ The voice of God became a living creature, or the word of God commanded things to happen (compare Gen 1:3, 6, 9, 14, 20, 24). Also Christ's two natures, human and divine can be seen in this christological text.

⁸⁶ PO 203 p 550-551: Leslau 2010 p 140: (**አሐት**) corr **አጋት** (pl); Budge 634-635 translates the word 'kinsmen' by 'sisters', and Colin with 'cousins', for which there is no special word in Ge'ez; Getachew, *Mary* EAE 3 p 808, tells that in Ethiopic Apocryphal texts Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, is an aunt of the Virgin Mary, and that Joachim, the father of the Virgin Mary, was Elizabeth's brother.

⁸⁷ Leslau 2010 pa 79 *qal* 'voice, word, saying, speech, statement, discourse, command, order, sound, noise, expression, maxim, thing' and p age 54 *šəga* 'flesh, meat, body, corpse'.

At the end of this part of the reading there is the normal formula: she (Elizabeth) died in peace, and her prayer and her blessing be with us. Amen.⁸⁸

The second reading of this festival deals with the commemoration of the Covenant of Mercy Pact between the Virgin Mary and the Lord Jesus Christ. This longer lesson mainly has the same facts as the reading of Terr 21 in the previous chapter (see p 39). This passage is not in all manuscripts, and Gérard Colin therefore has placed it in brackets.⁸⁹

In manuscripts there are minor variations concerning the beginning of this Marian festival reading. Here is Colin's text in *Patrologia Orientalis*.

**በዛቲ፡ዕለት፡ካዕብ፡ይገብሩ፡በዐለ፡ኩሉሙ፡ዘመድ፡ክርስቲያን፡ለእግዝእትነ፡ማርያም፡ወላዲተ፡
አምላክ፡በዘነሥእት፡ቦቱ፡ኪዳነ፡ምሕረት፡እምወልዳ፡መድኃኒነ፡ኢየሱስ፡ክርስቶስ፡ለዘ፡ይገብር፡
ተዝካራ፡ወለዘይደዕ፡ዕ፡ስማ፡ወለዘይሁብ፡ምጽዋተ፡ለነዳያን፡እስከ፡ማየ፡ቈረር፡**

bāzati 'älät ka'ab yägäbbäru bā'alä k'wällomu zämäd krästiyan lä'ägza'atänä maryam wäladitā amlak bāzänäs'at botu kidanä mährät əmwälda mädhaninä iyäsus krəstos läzä yägäbbər täzkara wäläzäyədewə'ə səma wäläzäyəhub məşwatä länädayan 'əskä mayä k'wäirir.
'In this day is observed also by all fellow Christians the festival of our Lady Maryam, bearer of God, she who got promise of the covenant of mercy from his son our Saviour Jesus Christ in order to remember her commemoration, and to call upon her name, and to give alms to those in need, at least cold water.'⁹⁰

ኪዳነ፡ምሕረት *kidanä mährät* 'the covenant of mercy' (from verbs **ከደነ** *kädänä* 'cover, wrap, clothe, hide, veil, close, protect, forgive sins', and **መሐረ** *mähärä* 'have compassion, show mercy, have pity, pardon' (Ar *rahima* 'have mercy', and Heb *rāham* 'love', too). Mercy and have mercy are basic ideas through the Bible.

ተዝካራ *täzkara* 'remembrance, memorial service/day, reminder, commemoration, record, memorandum' (from verb **ከከረ** *zäkärä* 'remember'). This word is often used in memorial or festival services of dead people and saints.⁹¹ The Ethiopic text invites us to remember the Virgin Mary and the triune God, so He also remembers us and rewards us.

⁸⁸ PO 203 p 552-553; Budge, p 635, finishes his translation: 'Salutation to Elisabeth'.

⁸⁹ PO 203 p 552-557 with Colin's translation; Budge p 635-638.

⁹⁰ PO 203 p 552-553, the story continues on p 554-557; Budge p 635; corr **ደዕ-ዕ** 'call' Leslau 2010 p 231.

⁹¹ Leslau 2006 p 275-276, 336); idem 2010 p 187.

The qualities mentioned or activities recommended by the Virgin Mary, or happened to her, are about the same as in the previous festival reading:

She is the holy Lady Mary, the bearer or the mother of God, and she is two-fold virgin. In some ES readings there is also the word **ጥንብልናሃ** *tənbələnnaha* ‘her mediation, intercession, ambassador’s work’ (see p 45). In the Anaphora of St Mary there is a list of those whom she will speak in favour with her son for the sake of all, and to give rest to the souls like clergy, kings and those in authority, who keep straight the way of the true word, young men and virgins, monks, rich and poor, great and small, old women and orphans, sojourners and miserable, and all Christians of the church who have gone to their rest in this place or in the place of the victorious martyrs or in the place of watchful angels, because your (Mary) name is acceptable before God (AnM 18-20).⁹²

There are also two special qualities of the Virgin Mary mentioned in connection of her petition: **እሙ፡ለብርሃን** *’ammu läbərhan* ‘the mother of light/brilliance/splendor’, which gives her more importance within the creation of the world and the sun (Gen 1:14; see also AnM 83), and **አሙትከ** *’amätkä* ‘your handmaiden/maid’, by which Mary esteems her motherly duties and her obedience towards God’s will. (Luke 1: 38; AnM 83).⁹³

The narration continues: angels took the Virgin Mary into heavens, where all the souls of the ancient fathers from Adam to her time worshipped her, and gave glory to God who created you of our flesh and of our bone. Through you (Mary) we have salvation and you are for us **መርሶ** *mārso* ‘the haven, asylum, anchor’ in life from destruction through the Son of God. Then angels took her to the Lord and she was seated beside Christ. There is plenty of extolling and thanksgiving to her also in the Anaphora of St Mary (e.g. AnM 4, 11, 22, 29, 173). Salvation via Mary comes through her son, Christ.

Angels showed to the Virgin Mary the hell, too, and she pitied those people there. Partly because of this visit she made her petitions to her son. The Virgin Mary is part of God’s process for salvation of mankind, and so she has in the anaphora many descriptive names from the Old and New Testament as ‘bridge to go over’, ‘hope of Adam’, ‘ladder from earth

⁹² PO 201 p 156; Böll p 117-119; see note 85.

⁹³ PO 203 p 556; Leslau p 135; Budge p 635-637.

to heaven' like in Jacob's dream, 'the tables of Moses', 'the harp of David', 'favour of the Apostles', 'the mother of martyrs', 'the sister of angels' and so on (AnM 31-37).⁹⁴

After Mary's strong sentimental petition to Christ, by her life and suffering, and also by God his father, by Christ's name and by the paraclete/Holy Spirit, she demanded him: **ወይእዚ፡ ስምዓኒ፡ጸሎትየ፡ወአጽምዕ፡ ቃለ፡አፋየ፡ዘእነግረከ፡አነ፡እምከ፡ማርያም፡ወአነ፡አመትከ፡በእንተ፡** *wäyā 'əzeni sām 'ani šälotäyā wä 'ašmə 'ə⁹⁵ qalä afuyä zä 'ənägräkä anä əmkä maryam wä 'anä 'amätkä bā 'əntä* 'and now listen to my prayer and hear the words of my mouth, which I, your mother Maryam, and I, your servant have told'.⁹⁶

In this reading the language of the Virgin Mary's petition is very demanding.

ዘይገብር፡ተዝካርየ፡ *zäyägäbbär täzkaräyā* 'who celebrates her commemoration'. (the verb *käbrä* p 42). According to the Ethiopian orthodox tradition there are annually five great Marian festival, and more than 33 Marian festival (p 58).

ወዘየሐንጽ፡ቤተ፡ክርስቲያን፡በስምየ፡ *wäzäyähənṣ betä krästiyänä bäsmäyā* 'and who builds a church in my name' (*hänäsä* 'build, construct, erect'). There are innumerable Christian churchbuildings around the world dedicated to the Virgin Mary, even in Finland.⁹⁷

አው፡ዘያለብስ፡ዕሩቀ፡ *aw zäyaläbbäs 'əruqä* 'or who clothes the naked' ('*albäsä* 'clothe, dress'). This human principle is wellknown in many religions (Is 58:7; Matt 25:36).

ወዘይሔውጽ፡ድውየ፡ *wäzäyähewwəṣ dəwwäyā* 'and who delights the sick' (*həwwäṣä* 'glance, look on, pay a visit, watch, observe, explore, inspect, oversee, take care of'). This petition with variations belongs to Christian liturgical benediction or praying for others (Matt 25:36).

አው፡ዘያበልዕ፡ርሑብ፡ *aw zäyabäl 'ə rəhubä* 'or who feeds the hungry' ('*ablä 'a* 'feed, give to eat'). This and the next biblical principle (Prov 25:21; Mt 25:35) belong also to certain religions, like Islam, and to Near Eastern traditional life.

ወዘያሰቲ፡ጽሙዓ፡ *wäzäyasätti šəmu 'ə* 'and who gives water to the thirsty' ('*astäyā* 'give to drink, water, irrigate'; Matt 25:35). This is often together with the preceding virtue.

⁹⁴ PO 203 p 554; Leslau 2006 p 475: *mārso* 'port, harbour, anchor, quiet, tranquillity, asylum' comes from **ረሰየ** with **አረሰየ** 'arässäyā 'drop anchor, bring to rest', or **ረሰወ አረሰወ** 'arsäwä 'draw a boat (to the shore), drop anchor' Leslau 2010 p 58; Kidanä p 838, 839 has both *ar-* verbs and *räsäwä*, but not *räsäyā* 'put, place, set up, establish etc'; Dillmann 1866 p 188.

⁹⁵ Corr **አፅምአ** *aḍmə 'a* Leslau 2010 p 235; Sometime correction is inside the text.

⁹⁶ PO 203 p 556; similar sentimental/physical expressions are in AnM 165-171, too; Böll p 228-236, where there is, in the *Andämta*-commentary, a lengthy history on the Virgin Mary and her son, Christ.

⁹⁷ PO 203 p 556; Leslau 2010 p 22.

**እግዚእየወአምላኪየ፡እስኢላከ፡ወኣስተበቅዑዓከ፡በእንተ፡ኩሉ፡ዘየአምን፡ብየ፡ረስየ፡ግዕዘ፡
እምሲኣል፡ተዘኪረከ፡ረኃብ፡ወጽምዓ፡ወኩሉ፡መከራ፡ዘረከበኒ፡ምስሌክ፡።**

*‘əgzi ‘əyā wä ‘amlakiyā ‘əsä ‘äläkä wä ‘astäbäq’ə ‘akä bä ‘əntä k’əllu zäyā ‘am ‘ən bayä rässəyo
gə ‘əzä ‘əmsiol täzäkiräkä räḥab wäṣəm ‘a wäk’əllu mäkära zäräkäbäni məslekä*

‘O my Lord and my God, I demand you and ask your favour (*astäbäq’ə ‘a* ‘ask, request favor’) make free from destruction (sheol) all who believe in me’, and those who remember hunger and thirst and all trials which came upon me because of you (with you)’.¹⁰² This is implied in the common prayer formula, too: ‘Lord have mercy/compassion upon us’ (e.g. AnM 118). In the Anaphora of St Mary the priest also asks the Virgin Mary to remind Jesus Christ of the pact of grace between them (AnM 165-171).

**ዋኣውሥኣ፡እግዚእነ፡ኢየሱስ፡ክርስቶስ፡ወይቤላ፡ይኩን፡በከሙትቤልኒ፡ወእፌጽም፡ለኪ፡ክኩሉ፡
ስእለተኪ፡ኣኮነ፡ተሰባእኩ፡በእንቲኣኪ፡መሐልኩ፡በርእስየ፡ከሙ፡ኢይሔስወኪ፡ኪዳንየ፡**

*wa ‘awśə ‘a ‘əgzi ‘ənä ‘iyäsus krəstos wäyəbela yəkun bākämmä tabelni wä ‘əfeṣəm läki k’əllo
sə ‘lätäki ‘akonu täsäba ‘əku bä ‘ənti ‘aki mähalku bärə ‘əsyä kämmä ‘iyəḥeswäki kidanyä*

‘and the Lord Jesus Christ answered and said to her: let it happen and be fulfilled (*fäṣämä* ‘fulfill, finish’) to you, all what you have said, and I will fulfill all your petitions. I became incarnated (*täsäb ‘a*) by you, and I swear that this covenant is not a lie’ (*mähälä* ‘swear, take an oath’).¹⁰³ By this sentence the author tries to assure listeners or readers about this heavenly pact, which promises much to Christians, who obey these recommendations.

So Mary, as a mother of light, and as a handmaiden of Christ, got the affirming reply, a real covenant, from Christ for those who do (see page 44, too):

1) Celebrate Mary’s commemoration, 2) build a church in Mary’s name, 3) clothe the naked, 4) visit the sick, 5) feed the hungry and give drink the thirsty, 6) comfort the sorrowful and make the sad to rejoice, 7) write a history of her strife, 8) sing a song at her festival, 9) reward the people who believe in the Virgin Mary, and 10) make them free from Sheol. (Compare Matt 25:35-36/38-39/42-44).

There also are miraculous happenings or miracles in this reading:

¹⁰² PO 203 p 556; Budge p 638; Leslau 2010 p 99.

¹⁰³ PO 203 p 556; Budge p 638; Leslau 2010 p 246, 71, 30.

1) Elisabeth, the wife of Zacharias, was barren but got a daughter, Mary, 2) John the baptist speaks and bows to him (Jesus) in his mother's womb, 3) the Virgin Mary conceived the Word of God, 4) Jesus, the son of Mary ascended into heaven, 5) when Jews tried to prevent Mary to pray at Jesus' grave, God hid her from their eyes, even their guards couldn't see her, 6) angels ministered her all the time, 7) her Son, Jesus visited the Virgin Mary frequently, 8) angels showed her the heavens, and took her to her Son, the Lord, 9) the Lord asked 'Have you arrived, o my mother?' and he raised her up to the throne of glory, 10) Mary saw David, the king of Israel, her Father, 11) angels showed her the place of punishment and the limit of darkness, 12) then she made to her Son the request of pact of mercy on Golgotha, 13) Jesus came to her with thousands of angels to ask question on her desires, 14) the Lord Jesus promised to keep the pact of mercy.

This reading ends with words: 'Her prayer and blessing be with her beloved by the Holy Spirit from century to century'.¹⁰⁴ This reading of the Ethiopic Senkessar shows that the Virgin Mary was a very determined woman.

3. **ልደታ** *lädäta* 'her birthday'

Gənbot 1 / May 9

Mary's nativity day

The commemoration day of Mary's nativity is in some churches on 8th of September. This daily reading starts with a story of her family.

**በዛቲ፡ዕለት፡ኮነ፡ልደታ፡ለእግዝእት፡ቅድስት፡ድንግል፡ጣርያም፡ንጽሕት፡ወለዲተ፡አምላክ፡ዘኮነ፡
ባቲ፡መድኃኒተ፡ዘመደ፡እጓለ፡እመሕያው።** *bäzati 'älät konä lädäta lä'əgzə 'tənä qəddäst dängəl
maryam nəṣhət wäladitā amlak zäkonä bati mädhanitā zämädä 'əg'walä 'əmmähəjaw* 'This
day happened the birth of our lady, the holy Virgin Mary, the pure bearer of God, by whom
came the salvation for the mankind'.

This passage is a short one, and it narrates about Mary's elderly parents, her father Joachim the priest and her mother Hanna. They were distressed because they had no child, and therefore were not able to sacrifice to the Lord. Once Joachim was in his 40th day of prayer

¹⁰⁴ PO 203 p 552-557, where Colin leaves the words 'Za-Manfas Qeddus' inside his French translation; the words could mean 'who are from the Holy Spirit'; Budge p 634-638, translates the end of the chapter: 'Salutation to thee, O Book of the Law and Covenant, like the Tables of stone.'

on a mountain, and he saw an angel who informed him: ‘You’ll get offspring’. God was pleased to that couple, and after some time they got Mary, whom Hanna, her mother, had promised to serve in God’s house for all her life (compare 1. Sam. 1:10-11, 20). The beginning of the story concentrates to the Saviour of the world through Hanna and Joachim, and through their daughter, the Virgin Mary.¹⁰⁵

At the end of this narrative there are again a little bit different qualities of the Virgin Mary.

**ወወለደታ፡ለዛቲ፡ቅድስት፡ወሰመየታ፡ማርያም፡ዘበትርግዋሜሃ፡እግዝእት፡ወካዕበ፡ትርግዋሜሃ፡
ጸጋ፡፡በአማን፡እስሙ፡የቲ፡ እግዝእት፡ኩሉ፡ዓለም፡ወንግሥተ፡ኩሉን፡አንስት፡ወባቲ፡ረከብነ፡ጸጋ**
*wāwālādāta maryam zābātərguameha ‘əgzə’ət wāka’əbā tərguameha šägga bā’aman ‘əsmä
yə’ti ‘əgzə’ət kʷəllu ‘alām wānəgəst kʷəllon ‘ansət wābati rākābnä šägga*

‘and she gave birth to this holy and heavenly Mary, interpreted as Lady, and interpreted again grace, and she really is the Lady of all the world and the queen of all women, and through her we have got the grace.’ This short passage ends ‘May God give us mercy through her prayer, and her intercession and her blessing be with us, amen.’¹⁰⁶

ሰመየታ *sämäyāta* ‘heavenly, divine, celestial woman’. This characterization esteems the Virgin Mary really high. She can be compared with God (p 38).

ጸጋ *šägga* ‘grace, favor, kindness, gracious gift’. Mary’s name can also mean grace, favour, kindness and gift. By this word she is even made equal to Christ as the mother of God (p 42 ‘rejoice, o you who are full of grace’; Luke 1: 28-35).

እግዝእት፡ኩሉ፡ዓለም *‘əgzə’ət kʷəllu ‘alām* ‘the Lady of all the world’ means the highest woman or the first woman in our realm. (p 38 for Lady).¹⁰⁷

ወንግሥተ፡ኩሉን፡አንስት *wānəgəstā kʷəllon ‘anəst* ‘and the queen of all women’. She is the sovereign, the queen or an ideal model for all women.

¹⁰⁵ PO 211 p 200; Budge p 848 translates ‘at the end of the 4th day of week’; Oja p 315; Procter p 725; Fetha Nagast p 115.

¹⁰⁶ PO 211 p 200; Budge p 848-849 ends his translation ‘Salutation threefold to the birth of Mary.’

¹⁰⁷ Leslau 2010 p 67, 201, 234; idem 2006 p 504, 699, 739 where are mentioned the levels of heaven and sky.

4. ቂዳሴቤታ *qiddase beta* ‘consecration of her church’

Mary’s church in Philippi

Säne 21 / June 29

In the beginning of this passage, building of a Marian church, are the usual characteristics of the Virgin Mary.

**በዛቲ፡እለት፡ተዝካራ፡ለእግዝእትነ፡ቅድስት፡ወንጽሕት፡ድንግል፡ማርያም፡ወላዲተ፡አምላክ፡ዘባቲ፡
ኮነ፡መድኃኒቱ፡ለአዳም፡ወለዘርሑ፡ወሕንጸተ፡አብያተ፡ክርስቲያናት፡በስማ፡ወስተ፡ኩሉ፡አለም**

*bäzati ə'lät täzkara lä'əgzə'ətənä qəddäst wänəşḥət dəngəl maryam wäladita amlak zäbati
konä mädhanitu lä'adam wäläzär'u wäḥənṣätä abə'yata krəstiyanat bäsəma wəstä kʷəllu
alām* ‘On this day is to be remembered the holy and pure Virgin Mary, bearer of God, through
her came the salvation to Adam and his seed, and building of Christian churches through her
name in all the world’.¹⁰⁸

Celebrate commemoration of a Saint is the normal formula in the beginning of these ES passages (see p 47, ተዝካራ ‘remember, bear in mind, recollect/recall and be mindful). In this text it is in connection with the Virgin Mary.¹⁰⁹

Our Lady, our holy Lady, the pure and holy Virgin Mary, the God-bearer, the mediator of salvation and two-fold Virgin are such qualities which occur continually in Marian festival texts of the Ethiopain Senkessar.

In this chapter there is a story how the building of churches, dedicated to the Virgin Mary starts. It happens in Philippi (its old name is Crenides which means fountains), a city in the north-eastern Greece, about 100 km east from Thessaloniki.

So this story goes: Paul and Barnabas (in Acts 16:12 Paul, Silas and Timothy) are in Philippi, and they want to have a special place to receive the holy mysteries, eucharist. They sent a message to Peter and John concerning the building of a church. Peter answers, that this question should be asked by prayer from the Lord Jesus. Paul and gentiles fast, pray one week and ask advice from God. At the end of the week Jesus arrives on a cloud with all the apostles to Philippi, where he marks the place for the first Christian church outside the city, and says: ‘In this day I am pleased that churches be built in the name of my mother Mary’.

¹⁰⁸ PO 1/V p 645, this is part of the eldest critical text of ES with translation by I. Guidi 1907; Budge p 1020.

¹⁰⁹ Leslau 2010 p 187.

After the building Jesus blesses Peter by laying hands on him, and appoints him to be the head and archbishop for all the world.¹¹⁰

Another story for the day tells about the Marian church in Caesarea on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean sea. The Virgin Mary is engaged in the dispute of her icon for that church. She is not satisfied with the icon of a rich man who has cursed the church, and the man dies. So the Virgin Mary tells the Caesarean bishop, Saint Basil, where he can find a very beautiful plate of red gold (icon), on which there is engraved Mary with two virgins on her both sides. Further more the Virgin Mary informs him that there is in a certain house of idols two pillars, which can be placed in front of the church sanctuary to hold the icon. The idolaters are not able to resist Christians, who take those pillars, and so the picture of the Virgin Mary is placed upon them.

This passage contains a number of miraculous acts, too.

1) arrival of Jesus with the apostles on a cloud; 2) building stones become soft to prepare; 3) celestial and terrestrial beings cry ‘Worthy is Peter to be the pope’; 4) the man who was cursing the Marian church dies immediately; 5) The Virgin Mary appears to St Basil, and informs him about a golden plate with her picture, and about two pillars which are taken from the idols temple; 6) God makes a well of water at the foot of those pillars; 7) every sick person who gets a wash there, will be healed; 8) oil is trickling from her icon, and heals any sickness, especially on the 21st of Säne, on which date this church is consecrated; 9) one lady who has killed her sister and married her sister’s husband, tries to heal herself from leprosy in the well. She attends the mass at the church of the Virgin Mary, but because she is unclean, she does not get forgiveness, and is swallowed by the earth.¹¹¹

For this day there are other miraculous stories, too, but they do not deal with the Virgin Mary, whose blessing comes for those celebrants who work for her festival.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ PO 1/V p 645-646; Budge, p 1020-1021, translates: ‘I will that churches be built...’, and later, instead of Peter he uses the names Cyril and Arsyanos, the governor, whom the Lord appointed to be the head and Archbishop of the world. Arsyanos may mean ‘a great minister/grand pretré’ like Guidi p 646; in Kidanä’s dictionary p 242, there is only the word አርሳይሮስ *arsa’əros* ‘a father or the leader of a monastery’.

¹¹¹ PO 1/V p 646-649; Budge has a different ms p 1021-1022.

¹¹² PO 1/V p 650-653; Budge p 1022-1023.

5. **ፍልሰታ** *fəlsäta* ‘her assumption’

Näḥase 16 /August 23

Assumption of Mary’s body upto heaven

በዛቲ፡እለት፡ኮነ፡ዕርገተ፡ሥጋሃ፡ለእግዝእትነ፡ቅድስት፡ድንግል፡ጣርያም፡ወላዲተ፡አምላክ፡ኅበ፡**ሰማይ፡** *bäzati* ‘älät konä ’ərgätä śəgaha lä ’əgzä ’ätənä qəddäst dängäl Maryam wälladita*‘amlak həbä sämay* ‘On this day happened the assumption of the Lady, the holy Virgin Mary, bearer of God, to the heaven’.¹¹³

The following qualities of the Virgin Mary are stated in the lecture of this feast which seems to be very important among her festival days in Ethiopia. Most of her epithets are same as in earlier festival passages:

Mary is the Lady and holy Virgin, even the Lady of all women, the God-bearer, the pure mother (theotokos), and she sits at the right hand of the Son of God. Mary is the daughter of priests, and an intercessor for people in front of her Son, Jesus Christ. In this reading Jesus also uses the words **ሥጋሃ፡ለአምላክ፡ፍቅርት፡ጣርያም** *śəgaha lä ’əmmäyā fəqrät maryam* ‘the body of my mother, dear (f) Mariam’. The words dear or beloved are not usual attributes for her in these ES texts.

After Mary’s death the apostles feel like orphans, motherless children. **ኮነ፡እቤራተ፡አምኔሃ** *konu* ‘äberat ‘əmmeha ‘they become like orphans’ which shows that the apostles are like her children. The Anaphora of St Mary uses the expression of her ‘the favour of the apostles, the mother of martyrs and the sister of angels’ (AnM 37). The relation between the Virgin Mary and the apostles is exceedingly close (see also John 14:18, where there is another word for orphans **እጓለ፡ጣውታ** ‘əg’alä mawta ‘offspring of a dead person, orphan’).¹¹⁴

The Virgin Mary is the one who blesses John the evangelist & each one of the apostles (see p 38). She is the one who causes miracles. Jesus asks Mary to tell the apostles, her children, to preach commemoration of her ascension into heaven. Whoever will do so, his/her sins will be forgiven, and mercy will find everyone, who in this day receives the holy communion.

¹¹³ PO 9/4 p 335; Budge p 1222; Zanetti *Church and popular veneration of St. Mary* EAE 3 p 812.

¹¹⁴ OP 9/4 p 335-337; Leslau 2010 p 242 **ፍቅርት** *fəqart* beloved; idem p 139 ‘äber(at) ‘old woman, widow, unmarried woman’, but both Budge p 1222 and Guidi (p 335) translates the word by orphans; Dillman 1886 p 234 ‘old woman, widow’; Kidanä p 198 elderly woman/lady’, probably also ‘ally’; Leslau 2010 p 146.

The Virgin Mary promised that the apostles will see more great wonders (see John 1:50). For those who celebrate her commemoration of 16th of Nāhase the Virgin Mary also promises power, and she sends the apostles back from heaven with Christ's salutation 'Peace'.

Miraculous events in this story of Ethiopic Senkessar of 16th of Nāhase:

1) John the evangelist is taken to the garden of delight (paradise) where he sees Jesus sitting by the tree of life, and there also is the body of our Lady Mary; 2) the angels have taken Mary's body from the grave to the foot of the tree of life; 3) all trees in paradise bow to her; 4) David, the 'prophet' sings a Psalm (Ps 45:10,14); 5) Mary is taken in the chariot of cherubims upto heaven with great joy; 6) Jesus appears to the sorrowful apostles with greeting of peace, and he promises to show her to them; 7) after the 1st of Nāhase, and after two weeks fasting and praying, on the 16th of Nāhase, Jesus takes the apostles upto heaven, where they see the Virgin Mary sitting at the right hand of her Son and God. She blesses everyone of them, and Jesus gives them the holy communion.

After the usual salutation at the of this ES texts there are some extra verses in parenthesis, where the author writes that Mary is a 'tree of miracles and news', **ዕጽ፡ተዓምር፡ወዜና** *ʾəḏä tä'amər wāzena*. Budge translates the end of this reading 'the tree of knowledge'.¹¹⁵

On 16th Nāhase there is a short reading on St Giorgios, the governor of Syria, who helps Mary, Josphe and the Child Jesus to escape via Lebanese mountains to Egypt. For this reason king Herod the Great (37 BC-4 AD) kills St Giorgios violently. St Giorgios becomes a martyr, and his body is transferred from Persia into a church of Lydda (Lod, Diospolis, Georgiopolis) in Palestine at the same time, when Mary's assumption to heaven happens,. In icons St Giorgios is sometime painted beside the Virgin Mary. Those who commemorate and pray to St Giorgios will be saved from eternal punishment. According to these ES narratives Jesus also gives to some Saints similar promise of saving affects as there is in the pact between Him and the Virgin Mary.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ PO 9/IV p 335-9; Budge p 1222-1224; AnM 36 'tree of life; Prov 3:18 'She is a staff of life...'); Leslau 2010 p 182, 135, 187.

¹¹⁶ PO 9/IV p 340-341; Wikipedia 'Lod'; St Grigorios, a famous Roman soldier, was born in Lydda in the 2nd half of the third century; In wikipedia's list of Syrian Governors there is no Gigar.

PICTURE OF THE VIRGIN MARY IN ETHIOPIAN SENKESSAR TEXTS OF MINOR MARIAN FESTIVALS

According to the EOTC's calendar every 1st, 3rd, 16th, 20th and 21st days of every month also are festivals to celebrate the Virgin Mary, even if Emperor Zar'a Ya'eqob announced 'only' 33 Marian festivals annually. For an ordinary Christian five feast per annum is the minimum (see p 37). Hugo Zanetti states that the following nine days are also counted as special Marian festivals.¹¹⁷

1. ጸደንያ *ṣedenya* 'Saidnaya',

Mäskäräm 10 / September 21

'Saidnaya (Ṣedenya/Sardenai) is a mountaintown north of Damascus, where situates an old monastery/convent. The reason for commemoration of the Virgin Mary in Saidnaya is a miraculous oil bleeding icon painted by Luke, the Evangelist.

This vivid narration emphasizes the Marian attribute 'two-fold Virgin Mary' **ድንግል፡በክሊክ፡ማርያም** *dəngəl bākəl'e maryam*, and this expression exists in this reading thrice, even if it's not in all manuscripts (AnA 101,112). In this lovely story a Saidnayan woman, Martha, who maintains a travellers' lodging, gives a monk called Theodore the task to buy the icon in Jerusalem. Many miracles happen when Theodore unwillingly brings the icon to Martha. She places the icon into her prayer chamber, where the icon starts to drop healing oil into a bowl under it. When Martha and Theodore die, the bishop and elders of Saidnaya want to remove the icon to another place but a heavy earthquake prevents them to do that.¹¹⁸

A purpose of this festival can be: beauty of icons, origin of icons and the effect of icons.

2. ደብረ፡ቍስቋም *däbrä q'əsqa'am*

Ḥədar 6 / November 16

This is a memorial day for the holy family who lived in Egypt (because of king Herod's hatred for the child Jesus; Matt 2: 13-15, 19-21) at the monastery of Mt *q'əsqa'am* (al-Qusia or Deir el-Muharrq). The real place of the Ethiopian tradition is unknown. The story of the Ethiopic Senkessar is, that Jesus with his disciples visits Mt Q'əsqa'am in Egypt where He consecrates the tabernacle, the church, and performs the eucharist with apostles. The author

¹¹⁷ Zanetti *Church and popular veneration of St Mary* EAE 3 p 812.

¹¹⁸ PO 195 p 384-391, where Colin has placed the whole story in brackets; Budge p 34-36 leaves the attributes of the Virgin Mary away; Leslau 2010 p 149 **ከልክ** I *käl'a* 'hinder, prevent etc', but **ከልክ** II *källä'a* 'make two, make another, change, alter', from which **ከልክ** *käl'e* 'two, both, twofold'.

mentions that the Alexandrian archbishops, St Theophilos and St Cyril tell about this event. Their prayer and blessing be always with everybody.¹¹⁹

A purpose of this feast can be to emphasize the dwelling of the holy family in this Egyptian monastery, and the monastery of Däbrä Qʷəsqaʷam in Ethiopia.

3. ደብረ፡ጽዮን *däbrä ṣəyon*

፳፩ / December 1

Festival of the Mount Sion (the Virgin Mary)

The Mount of Sion is one title attached to the Virgin Mary in Ethiopic literature. In the Anophora of St Mary there are many emblems for her e.g. ‘You are the tables of Moses, the bush of Sinai, the bells in the garment of Aaron the priest...’ (AnM 33). Her commemoration is only mentioned in the beginning this reading, but Gregory Thaumaturgos (213-270 AD) is the key person of this reading, in which there are no new attributes of the Virgin Mary.¹²⁰

One purpose of this festival could be to emphasize metaphors of the Virgin Mary.

4. በአታ *bä’ata* ‘her entry to the temple’

፳፯ / December 13

Bä’ata comes from the verb በወአ/ቦአ *bäwä’a/bo’a* ‘enter, penetrate, proceed, frequent’.

When the Virgin Mary becomes three years old, her parents, Eliakim/Joachim and Hanna, bring their child, ወለተ፡ብፅአት፡ለእግዚአብሔር *wälätä bəḍ’at lä’egzi’abher* ‘daughter of vow to God’, into the Jewish temple in Jerusalem. There the personel takes care of her during twelve years, and angels bring heavenly bread and heavenly drink to her (see also AnM 38-41). When our Lord came into the world and ወተሠገወ፡እምኔሃ፡ዛቲ፡ዘጎረዖ፡እምኩሉን፡አንስት *wätäsägäwä* ‘emneha zähäräya ‘emkʷallon ‘ansət ‘He took flesh from her, the elect of all women’. The Virgin Mary is the chosen of God, the first of all women.

After twelve years in the Sanctuary, Zacharias the high priest asked Mary what she wants to do now. She answered them: ‘I am God’s handmaiden, and you are my mother and father before God, so you have to make the decision.’¹²¹

¹¹⁹ PO 199 p 254-255, in Colin’s translation ‘their’ may mean the bishops or Jesus and his disciples; Budge p 211-212 has another ms ‘Salutation to the Virgin Mary and her child Jesus, who have taken refuge at Mt Quesquam’; Kaplan *Feasts* EAE 2 p 512: Ethiopian Däbrä qʷəsqaʷam is founded c 1730, later than the ms.

¹²⁰ PO 199 p 254-256; Budge p 266-267; Kaplan *Feasts* EAE 2 p 512; Grohmann p 64, 79.

¹²¹ PO 15/IV 569-576; Budge p 315-317; Leslau 2010 p 101; idem p 106 በፅዕ ‘make a vow, consecrate’; idem p 54 ተሰገወ *täsägäwä* ‘become flesh, assume body, become incarnate’; idem p 113 ንረየ/ንረየ *häräyā/häräyā* ‘choose, discern, elect, select’; see p 44, too.

After praying in sanctuary Zacharias gets God's advice to collect all widowed men from David's house with their staffs. The priests collect 1785 staffs from those men. After special prayer they give the staffs back, and when Joseph receives his staff, a white dove rises from it and settles on Joseph's head. In this way the responsibility for young Mary goes to Joseph from David's house as was the angel's advice in the sanctuary.¹²²

The meaning of this feast is to lay stress on Marian family background, the temple of Jerusalem, angels, and to point that the choice of Joseph is decided in heaven.

5. በዓለ፡ደቅስብሃ *bä'alä däqsəyos* 'Festival of Dexius'

Taḥśaś 22 / January 2

In the beginning of this reading the author tells that the angel Gabriel is highly valued, and so he gets the task to inform to Zechariah about the birth of John the baptist (Luke 1:11-14).

Later Gabriel informs to the Virgin Mary about Christ's birth (Luke 1:28-35). According to this reading Gabriel informs the Virgin Mary about the festival date of his annunciation (Mäggabit 29), but Mary asks in a revelation the bishop Däqsios of Toledo (Ildefonsus of Toledo 607-667 AD) to arrange the commemoration date of the angel's message 'Peace be unto you! Rejoice, o you who are full of grace. The Lord is with you' (Luke 1:25,30).

Däqsios is able to move the date of this commemoration festival to Taḥśaś 22, So the date is before the great fast.

According to the Fetha Nagast 'we do not agree that the Incarnation is the main feast of Our Lord...the first of the feasts of our Lord is the Annunciation made by God – through the mouth of the Angel Gabriel, who spoke to our Lady the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, Our Redeemer on the 29th day of Megabit.'

In some ms there is the story, how St Mary presents Däqsios with brilliant pontificals while he is working in his office. No one else is aloud to wear those clothes.¹²³

The purpose of this feast is the change of the festival date before the great fast.

6. ደብረ፡ምጥማቅ *däbrä məṭmaq*

Gənbət 21 / May 30

Mary's manifestation at Däbrä Metmäk monastery

The 1st reading for this day is a short story, like a revelation, and the narrative starts: 'Today all Christian communities celebrate this festival of our holy Lady, the Virgin Mary, the God bearer' ትነብር፡ለዕለ፡ብርሃን፡ውስተ *tənäbbär la'alä bäbərhan wəstä* 'she is seated upon light'

¹²² PO 15/IV p 569-576; Budge p 315-317.

¹²³ PO 26/IV p 30-38; Budge p 394-395, where he does not tell about pontificals; Fritsch & Zanetti *Calendar, Christian* EAE 1 p 671; Fetha Nagast p 115, 29th Megabit is in early March.

in the church which is build in her name. **ወይእት፡ግልብብት፡በብርሃነ፡ሙለኮት** *wäyā'eti gəlbəbat bābərhanā mäläkot* 'she is enveloped in divine light'... angels, saints, martyrs and others bowe in front of her, and she blesses them. The Virgin Mary is as superior as Christ, even Our Redeemer (see Fetha Nagast citation Taḥśās 22 abobe).¹²⁴

Purpose of this narrative is to emphasize Marian divinity, and to add the value of Däbrä Məṭmäq monastery.

7. **ዘኣንቅዓ፡ወልዳ፡ማይ** *zä'anqə'a wälda may*

Šäne 8 / June 16

A source which her son causes to spring up

When the king Herod died, the holy family returned from Egypt to Galilea in Israel (Matt 2: 19-23). According to this narrative they lived in Egypt in Däbrä Qwəsqa^wam and in two unnamed places three and half years. Salome, the cousin of the Virgin Mary was with them (p 46). In this reading the places of their return route is as follows: **ሀገረ፡ማሐርቃ** *hagärä maḥarqa* 'village of pool' (oasis), **ሀገረ፡ምስር** *hagärä məssər* 'area of lentils' or 'məsr' 'the town of Cairo', **ሀገረ፡ሙጦርያ** *hagärä mätäryä* 'village of Mätärya' and **ሀገረ፡ምሕፃብ** *hagärä məḥḍab* 'village of the Fountain' or the place (Heliopolis, 'Fountain of the Sun', 'Ayn ash-Shems') where our Lord Jesus makes the well to gush out. People from everywhere can come there, so that the Virgin Mary may bless them from her church and with the water of that fountain. This reading ends 'let the Virgin Maria interced for us. Her prayer and her blessing stay with us for ever'.¹²⁵

It seems to be that the purpose of this feast is to stress the ability and power of Jesus since his childhood. It also emphasizes Marian position as the mother of Jesus.

8. **ኣንጾታ፡ቤተ፡ክርስቲያን፡በስማ** *hanṣäta betä krəstiyan bäsəma* Šäne 20/21 / June

28/29

'Festival of Mary's Church in Philippi' (a similar story is in the text of Šäne 21, p 53-55).

Our Lady the pure and holy Virgin Mary, the God-bearer, through whom comes the salvation, the two fold Virgin. Peter and John send a message of advice to Paul and Barnabas in Philippi. They fast and pray with the congregation. After a week the Lord Jesus comes with his apostles to the city of Philippi, and shows them a place for the church. The building

¹²⁴ PO 211 p 306-309; Colin has placed this reading in parentheses; Budge 917-918; Leslau p 12 *la'alä* 'be high, be superior, be elevated', and p 201 *gälbäbä* 'veil, cover, envelope, wrap in clothes', p 30 *mäläkot* 'Godhead, divinity, deity, divine nature; Fetha Nagast p 115.

¹²⁵ PO 1/V p 568-569; Budge p 977-978; Leslau 2010 p121 *näqä'a* 'besplit, burst, be slashed, have cracks, become torn, pour out, gush out, sping up'.

happens without problems. Jesus also says to them that the churches should be built in the name of his mother Mary.

In another narrative of this feast the Virgin Mary informs saint Basil, the bishop of Caesarea, to find an engraved redgold picture of her, and tells how it should be placed between two pillars to give healing oil for those who came for it.¹²⁶ (there is a similar story on p 54-55 about **ቂዳሴቤታ** *qiddase beta* ‘consecration of her church’). The meaning of this feast is to stress the value of Christian church buildings as places of the eucharist, and also to emphasize the beauty and power of Marian icons.

9. **ፅንሰታ** *ḍənsäta* ‘Festival of Mary’s conception’ Nāhase 7 /August 14

In the Ethiopian tradition the Virgin Mary’s mother is holy Hannah.¹²⁷

Joakim and Hannah pray years for a child, and lately the Angel Gabriel tells in a dream to Joachim the father about the daughter Virgin Mary, that all the world would rejoice and be glad, because the Saviour of the mankind is coming through her. Joakim tells his wife Hannah what the angel has said about their child in his dream. Hannah believes what Joakim says, and becomes pregnant. Hannah promises the child to God and to be taken into the Temple. They get the daughter, the Virgin Mary, the God-bearer, and **ወተመክሐት፡ላዕለ፡ኩሉን፡አንስተ፡ዓለም** *wätämäkkəḥat la’älä kʷəllon ansät* ‘the object of boasting over (for) all women of the world’.¹²⁸

(There is a similar story on p 52-53 about **ልደታ** *lədäta* ‘her birthday’ Gənbət 1).

The purpose of this feast is to emphasize the family background of the Virgin Mary, and angels as informants of good news.

¹²⁶ PO 1/V p 645-650; Budge p 1020-1022; same as notes 107-109.

¹²⁷ Kaplan *Feasts/Christian* EAE 2 s 512; Fritsch – Zanetti *Calendar/Christian* EAE 1 s 671-672.

¹²⁸ PO 9/III p 279-281; Budge p 1197 leaves women away: ‘the object of boasting of all the world’.

CONCLUSIONS

The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church is one of oldest Christian churches. It belongs to the eastern orthodox churches like Armenian, Syriac and Coptic church. The old oriental churches did not accept the Chalkedonian resolution in 451 AD concerning humanity and divinity in the person of Jesus Christ. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church became autocephalous during Haile Selassie I reign only 60 years ago.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has large variety of Ge'ez literature, in which there are e.g. biblical, hagiographical, historical, liturgical and poetical books. There also are tens of thousand of Ge'ez manuscripts in Ethiopian monasteries, churches and libraries: Many Ge'ez manuscripts are in European libraries, too. Sergew Hable Selassie estimates that less than half of the manuscripts in Ethiopian libraries are in catalogues. The time of Solomonic dynasty (1270-1560) was a productive period for Ethiopic literature, just to mention the metropolitan Abunä Salama (in office 1348-1388) who translated many texts from Arabic into Ge'ez, and the emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob (1399-1468), who laid stress on Marian veneration.

New testament got its first printed versions in 1820. The entire collection of the Old testament books is still to come, even if many scholars have issued critical versions of its texts. The Book of Exposition is a guide for Bible lectionaries, liturgical calendar, singing and commemoration of saints in festivals.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has rich Mariological literature like Marian hymns, Marian miracles and legends. Among the fourteen official Anaphoras there is one official Marian anaphora for certain festivals. There also are three unofficial Marian anaphoras.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church has an abundant Christian festival calendar. Especially the church and popular veneration of the Virgin Mary is polyphormous. There are 33 annual Marian feasts and some extra monthly Marian festivals. Steven Kaplan divides the major Marian feasts into four groups: 1) festivals commemorating events of her life; 2) feast commemorating her miracles; 3) festivals concerning sanctuaries of the Virgin Mary; and 4) feasts regarding her titles and epithets.

The Ethiopic Senkessar (ES), synaxarion, is a large hagiographic collection of daily readings for full year. Its critical texts are in *Patrologia Orientalis* (1907-1997). I firstly translated the selected texts of the Ethiopic Senkessar into Finnish, then collected from ES Marian epithets and adjectives which form a picture of the Virgin Mary. I selected the texts of the five major and nine minor Marian festivals from the ES according to the article of Emmanuel Fritsch and Ugo Zanetti ‘Calendar/Christian Calendar’ in EAE 1.

The critical Ge’ez texts of the Ethiopic Senkessar in *Patrologia Orientalis* are plain to read but clearing of lexical mistakes takes time. French translations of Ignazio Guidi and Sylvain Grébaut are quite old and may need checking. One problem of preparing a reliable collection of the ES is the scarcity of full year manuscripts. The critical texts with the French translations of Gérard Colin are less than fifty years old. E.A. Wallis Budge issued an English translation of ES (1928). His translation is based on two manuscripts in the British Library, and it has minor disparities compared with the texts in *Patrologia Orientalis*.

For me it was hard work to find some exact lexical radicals (consonants, fidäls) for certain words of the Ethiopic Senkessar. I had to turn over the dictionaries of Wolf Leslau. E.g. አሐት *’ahat* which comes from አሐቲ *aḥatti/aḥad-ti* ‘one’ (fem; አሐዱ *aḥadu* ‘one’ masc), and then the correct form አሕት *aḥat* ‘sisters, cousins, kinswomen’ (from ተአሕወ *tä’ahawä* ‘be a relative’), where there are two weak root consonants in both words. The writer has made lexical changes in certain words, and in Ge’ez there is no special word for cousins.

In this, partly linguistic study, I concentrated on Marian attributes in fourteen festival texts of the Ethiopic Senkessar. Serafim Seppälä has broadly explained the doctrinal development of those epithets in his opus ‘Elämän äiti’ (The Mother of Life).

There are honorary titles or godly characteristics of the Virgin Mary in the beginning of the Ethiopic Senkessar readings, and in the middle of text, too:

እግዝእት

Lady

a woman of noble rank;

ቅድስት፡ድንግል

holy/saint Virgin

who is in service of God and officially recognized after death by the Christian church;

ንጽሕት፡ማርያም	pure/blameless Mary
	free from evil deeds and thoughts;
ወላዲተ፡አምላክ	mother of God/birthgiver of God (theotokos)
	mother of Jesus Christ;
እግዝእተ፡ኩሎን፡አንስተ፡ዝዓለም	Lady of all women of the world
	the first among all women;
ድንግልት፡በክልኤ	double virgin, virgin in body and spirit
	virgin before, during and after childbirth;
ቅድስት፡ወሰመዶታ፡ማርያም	holy and heavenly Mary
	who belongs to heaven where God is;
ወንግስተ፡ኩሎን፡አንስት	queen of all women
	the first and model of every woman;
አምልእተ፡ጸጋ	filled by grace
	willing to do the right things;
ትነብር፡ላዕለ፡ብርሃን፡ውስተ	she is seated upon light
	who gives or radiates light;
ግልብብት፡በብርሃን፡መለኮት	enveloped in divine light
	who lives in heavenly light;
ወፍሥሕት	joyful/jubilant/pleasant
	who is happy, expressing joy, gentle.

In narrative discussions of ES there appear for instance following expressions:

አወላዲትዮ፡ፍቅርት	my dear birthgiver
	Jesus calls Mary;
ለእምዮ፡ፍቅርት፡ማርያም	my dear mother Mary
	Jesus calls her;
አመትከ	maid, servant
	Mary calls herself as maid and servant.

There are also textual (direct or indirect) attributes for the Virgin Mary in ES:

መርሶ፡ሕይወት	harbour/port/asylum of life;
ወለትዮ	my shield, protection;

እሙ፡ለብርሃን	the mother of light;
ዘኅረያ፡እምኩሎን፡አንስት	the chosen one of all women;
እሙ፡ለእግዚእን፡ኢየሱስ፡ክርስቶስ	the mother of my Lord, Jesus Christ;
ያስተበጽኡኒ፡ኩሎ፡ትውልድ	honored by all generations (creatures);
ዕጸ፡ተዓምር፡ወዜና	tree of miracles and news (wisdom);
ወተመክሐት፡ላዕለ፡ኩሎን፡አንስተ፡ዓለም	object of boasting for all women of the world;
ኮን፡እቤራተ፡እምኔሃ	there is an idea that the Virgin Mary acts like a caretaker or hostes for the apostles, who sometime feel to be orphans.

There are differences or additions in manuscripts like:

ንግስተ፡ሰማያት፡ወምድር	the queen of the heaven and the earth.
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Many of these epithets exist in other Ethiopic literature, anaphoras, hymns or poems. Adolf Grohmann has in his book, *Aethiopische Marienhymnen* in 1919, a list of over hundred Marian epithets concerning the poem ‘Flower-hymn’, but there are only few of the usual attributes same as in Ethiopic Senkessar. Chrysostome Hayoz has listed some of these common epithets in his dissertation on two hymns ‘Portrait de Marie’ and ‘Complainte de la vierge’. In the Marian Anaphora there are plenty of descriptive metaphors about her, too. Verena Böll has translated the Amharic commentary of the Marian Anaphora into German. Some of the attributes are interpreted in the commentary of the Anaphora of St Mary as highly divine or godly characteristics. The Ethiopic Senkessar texts imply that the Virgin Mary was a very determined woman. In the Medieval Church there were in use plenty characteristic words on the Virgin Mary. This kind epithets place heavy respect and challenges on the Virgin Mary.

At the end of many passages there is a salutation/greeting (**ሰላም**) e.g.

ጸሎታ፡ወበረከታ፡ወትንብልናሃ	her prayer, her blessing and her intercession (be with all of us).
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The Virgin Mary acts as an intercessor or mediator before the heavenly Father, and she speaks in favour of people. This has connections with the Covenant of mercy.

The Covenant of Mercy includes deeds done in Mary's name like prayers, attending her festivals, her commemoration in festivals, writing and singing for her honor and building of churches for her name. In the Covenant of Mercy there are biblical stipulations of human aid for people in problems and needs. It also includes promises of reward for those who believe in the Virgin Mary and promises of becoming free from Sheol (hell). But the Covenant of Mercy does not exist in the Bible

The four gospels have very limited knowledge about Marian family background. In these stories there is her great grandfather Mattat (of Aron's tribe) and his son Levi, who has three daughters: 1) Mary, the mother of Salome who accompanies the holy family into Egypt, 2) Sophia, who is the mother of Elizabeth and the grandmother of John the Baptist, and 3) Hanna who is the wife of the priest Joakim and the mother of the Virgin Mary. Further there is the story how the Virgin Mary grows twelve years in the temple of Jerusalem, and how she is given to Davidian Joseph by a miraculous selection, so that he will take care of the Virgin Mary for about 34 years. And later she lives in the house of John, the evangelist, fourteen years, as Jesus advised on the cross.

In these Ethiopic Senkessar narratives there are stories about 50 miracles in connection with the Virgin Mary or her icons.

This study seems to confirm Verena Böll's conception that the Ethiopic Senkessar is written later than the Anaphora of St Mary, and it shows that the importance of the Virgin Mary is highly valued in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church.

A wider study will give more information about the Virgin Mary and about her attributes in Ethiopic Senkessar. A more profound study of covering the indirect qualities inside all ES texts is also needed to give a deeper description about her personality.

Comparison of Marian attributes with some Marian hymns of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church and with the synaxarion of the Coptic Church may widen the perspective of this study.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Anno Domini (European Calendar, Gregorian)
AM/፳፻፱	‘amätä mēhrät (Ethiopian Calendar, Julian)
Amh	Amharic
AnA	Anaphora of the Apostles (English Version)
AnL	Anaphora of the Lord (Eng. Version)
AnM	Anaphora of St. Mary (Eng. version)
App	Appendix
Ar	Arabic
Aymro	Aymro Wondmagegnehu & Joachim Motovu, Ethiopian Orthodox Church, 1970
B	Born
BC	Before Christ
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Societies
Br	British
Budge	English translation of the Ethiopic Senkessar (Volum number is not needed in footnotes because page numbering is continuous)
C	Circa, about
Col	Column
Comm	Andemta-Commentary in Böll’s appendix (Amharic)
Corr	Lexical correction
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
Dillmann 1907	Ethiopic Grammar
D	Died
Dästa	Dästa Täklä Wäld, Amharic – Amharic dictionary 1970
EAE	Encyclopaedia Aethiopica (Volumes 1-5)
Ed	Edited, editor
Eng	English
EOM	Ethiopian Orthodox Mission
EOTC	Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church

ES	Ethiopic Senkessar
Eth	Ethiopian, Ethiopic
Ethiopia 2017	ETHIOPIA: History, Culture and Challenges by Siegbert Uhlig & others (2017)
Fasc	Fasciculus, booklet
Fem	Feminine
FETHA NAGAST	Fetha Nagast (The Law of the Kings), Translation from Ge'ez by Paulos Tzadua
Getachew	Getachew Haile
Gr	Greek
Habtemichael	Habtemikael Kidane
Heyer 1971	Die Kirche Äthiopiens
Heyer 1998	Die Heiligen der Äthiopischen Erde
Honkanen 2015a	Review on Ethiopic texts in PO & CSCO
Honkanen 2015b	Review on Leslau's Reference Grammar of Amharic with an Essay on Ethiopian Languages.
HSIU	Haile Selassie I University
HWV	Harrassowitz Verlag
IPA	International phonetic alphabets
Kidanä	Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, Ge'ez – Amharic dictionary 1955
LCEC	Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: Ethiopian, (The Worlds of Eastern Christianity 300-1500, Volume 4)
Leslau 1976	Concise Amharic Dictionary
Leslau 2006	Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez
Leslau 2010	Concise Dictionary of Ge'ez
Ms	Manuscript
No	Number
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
P	Page, pages
PO	Patrologia Orientalis

QM	Qeddase Mariam (the Anaphora of St. Mary; Ge'ez-Amharic version)
SEERI	St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute
Sem	Semitic
Sergew	Sergew Hable Selassie, Church of Ethiopia
SLS/FMS	Suomen Lähetyseura/Finnish Missionary Society
St	Saint
Tedros	Tedros Abraha
Vol	Volume/s
/	Alternative or synonym form

Appendix 1

MANUSCRIPTS used for critical texts of the ES in Patrologia Orientalis

In Patrologia Orientalis there are 44 fasciculi (booklets) worked out of the Ethiopic manuscripts with translations in 1907-1997, firstly in Paris and since 1970 by Brepols Publishers in Turnhout Belgium. In PO there are all texts of the Ethiopic Senkessar.

The nine manuscripts for publishing critical texts of the Ethiopic Senkessar are:

- A fonds d'Abbadie no 66-66bis, 15th century (Paris)
mäskäräm, təqəmt, hədar, taḥśās, tərr, yäkkatit, mäggabit, miyazəya, gənbət, sāne, ḥamle, nəḥase, pag^wmen
- A fonds d'Abbadie (Bibliothèque Nationale) no 1, 18th or 19th century, (Paris) (see C)
taḥśās, nəḥase, pag^wmen
- B fonds éthiopien du British Museum, no CCXXXIII (Orient 661), 1654-1655, (London)
mäggabit, gənbət
- C fonds d'Abbadie, no 1, 19th century, Paris (see: A by Grébaut)
mäskäräm
- D Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, no 6458, 15th century, AA
təqəmt, hədar, tərr, yäkkatit
- E Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, no 2054, 16.12.1581 (AA)
mäskäräm, təqəmt, hədar, tərr, yäkkatit, mäggabit, miyazəya, gənbət
- O Bodleian Library, ms no XXIII, 18th century (Oxford)
taḥśās, sāne, ḥamle, nəḥase, pag^wmen
- P fonds éthiopien de la Bibliothèque nationale no 126, 18th century (Paris)
mäskäräm, təqəmt, hədar, taḥśās, tərr, yäkkatit, mäggabit, miyazəya, gənbət, sāne, ḥamle, nəḥase, pag^wmen
- T fonds éthiopien de la Bibliothèque nationale, no 677 (anciennement musée ethnographique du Trocadero no 5), 15th century (Paris)
mäskäräm, taḥśās

In Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium publications there are other Ethiopic texts, 55 opuses divided into 115 booklets (1903-2014).¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Honkanen 2014a p 23-25, 31.

Appendix 2

Table for months and weekdays in Ethiopia

Month Ethiopic/Amharic English/European/Gregorian time
 Gregorian date (Julian date) last day of a month

መስከረም <i>mäskäräm</i>	September	11 (29 Aug) - to October 10
ጥቅምት <i>təqəmt</i>	October	11 (28 Sept) - to November 9
ኅዳር <i>hədar</i>	November	10 (28 Oct) - to December 9
ታኅሣሥ <i>tahśaś</i>	December	10 (27 Nov) - to January 8
ጥር <i>tərr</i>	January	9 (27 Dec) - to February 7
የካቲት <i>yäkkatit</i>	February	8 (26 Jan) - to March 9
መጋቢት <i>mäggabit</i>	March	10 (25 Feb) - to April 8
ሚያዝያ <i>miyazəya</i>	April	9 (27 March) - to May 8
ግንቦት <i>gənbət</i>	May	8 (26 April) - to June 7
ሰኔ <i>säne</i>	June	8 (26 May) - to July 7
ሐምሌ <i>hamle</i>	July	8 (25 June) - to August 6
ነሐሴ <i>nähase</i>	August	7 (25 July) - to September 5
(plus the intercalary month)		
ጳጉሜን <i>pagʷmen</i> (ጳጉሜ <i>pagʷme</i>)	September 6 (24 Aug) - to September 10.	

Weekday Gəʼəz	Amharic (if differs)	English
እሁድ <i>‘əhud</i>		Sunday
ሳኑይ <i>sanuy</i>	(ሰኞ <i>sännho</i>)	Monday
ሠሉስ <i>śälus</i>	(ማክሰኞ <i>maksännho</i>)	Tuesday
ረቡዕ <i>räbu’</i>	(ሮብ <i>rob</i>)	Wednesday
ጉሙስ <i>hamus</i>	(ኃሙስ)	Thursday
ዐርብ <i>‘arb</i>		Friday
ቀዳም <i>qädam</i>	(ቅዳሜ <i>qədame</i>)	Saturday

Every month has 30 days except the intercalary 13th month, which has 5-6 days, depending on the leapyear.

There is a plan that the Ethiopian Julian system will unite with the Gregorian in 2100 AD.

The difference between Ethiopian (Julian) and European (Gregorian) date is about 8 years. The New Year Day is in Ethiopia in the beginning of the month *mäskäräm*.

For example:

1 መስከረም *Mäskäräm* 2011 ክ.ም will be 11.09.2019 AD.

Vice versa:

01.01.2019 ክ.አ (አውሮፓ:አቆጣጠር *awroppa aqqʷätaṭär* = AD (Anno Domini or European date) is 23 ታኅሣስ *Tahśaś* 2011 ዓ.ም (ዓመተ:ምህረት *amätä məhrät* ‘the year of grace’ according to the Ethiopian calendar.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Fritsch & Zanetti *Calendar, Christian* EAE 1 p 668-669; Ethiopia 2017 p 187.

Appendix 3

Ge'ez alphabets (Amharic only fidäls in brackets)

1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th form
ሀ ha	ሁ hu	ሂ hi	ሃ ha	ሄ he	ህ hə	ሆ ho
ለ lä	ሉ lu	ሊ li	ላ la	ሌ le	ሎ lə	ሎ lo
ሐ ሐa	ሑ ሐu	ሒ ሐi	ሓ ሐa	ሔ ሐe	ሕ ሐə	ሐ ሐo
መ mä	ሙ mu	ሚ mi	ማ ma	ሜ me	ሞ mə	ሞ mo
ሠ sä	ሡ su	ሢ si	ሣ sa	ሤ se	ሥ sə	ሦ s
ረ rä	ሩ ru	ሪ ri	ራ ra	ራ re	ረ rə	ረ ro
ሰ sä	ሱ su	ሲ si	ሳ sa	ሴ se	ሰ sə	ሰ so
(ሸ shä	ሹ shu	ሺ shi	ሻ sha	ሼ she	ሽ shə	ሽ sho)
ቀ qä	ቁ qu	ቂ qi	ቃ qa	ቄ qe	ቅ qə	ቆ qo
በ bä	ቡ bu	ቢ bi	ባ ba	ቤ be	ብ bə	ቦ bo
(ሸ vä	ሹ vu	ሺ vi	ሻ va	ሼ ve	ሽ və	ሽ vo)
ተ tä	ቱ tu	ቲ ti	ታ ta	ቲ te	ት tə	ቶ to
(ች čä	ቸ ču	ቹ či	ቻ ča	ቼ če	ች čə	ች čo)
ኀ ሀa	ኁ ሀu	ኂ ሀi	ኃ ሀa	ኄ ሀe	ኅ ሀə	ኆ ሀo
ነ nä	ኑ nu	ኒ ni	ና an	ኔ ne	ነ nə	ኖ no
(ኸ ሸä	ኹ ሸu	ኺ ሸi	ኻ ሸa	ኼ ሸe	ኽ ሸə	ኾ ሸo)
አ ‘a	ሁ ‘u	ኢ ‘i	አ ‘a	ሄ ‘e	አ ‘ə	አ ‘o
ከ kä	ኩ ku	ኪ ki	ካ ka	ኬ ke	ከ kə	ከ ko
ወ wä	ዉ wu	ዊ wi	ዋ wa	ዌ we	ወ wə	ዐ wo
ዐ ‘a	ዑ ‘u	ዒ ‘i	ዓ ‘a	ዔ ‘e	ዐ ‘ə	ዐ ‘o
ዘ zä	ዙ zu	ዚ zi	ዛ za	ዞ ze	ዘ zə	ዘ zo
(ዠ žä	ዡ žu	ዢ ži	ዣ ža	ዤ že	ዠ žə	ዡ žo)

የ yä	የ yu	የ yi	ያ ya	የ ye	ይ yə	የ yo
1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th form
ደ dä	ዱ du	ዲ di	ዳ da	ዴ de	ድ də	ዶ do
(ጀ ġä	ጀ ġu	ጀ ġi	ጀ ġa	ጀ ġe	ጀ ġə	ጀ ġo)
ገ gä	ገ gu	ገ gi	ገ ga	ገ ge	ገ gə	ገ go
ጠ tä	ጠ tu	ጠ ti	ጠ ta	ጠ te	ጠ tə	ጠ to
(ጤ tcä	ጤ tcu	ጤ tci	ጤ tca	ጤ tce	ጤ tcə	ጤ tco)
አ pä	አ pu	አ pi	አ pa	አ pe	አ pə	አ po
ሶ šä	ሶ šu	ሶ ši	ሶ ša	ሶ še	ሶ šə	ሶ šo
ፀ dä	ፀ du	ፀ di	ፀ da	ፀ de	ፀ də	ፀ do
ፈ fä	ፈ fu	ፈ fi	ፈ fa	ፈ fe	ፈ fə	ፈ fo
(ፐ pä	ፐ pu	ፐ pi	ፐ pa	ፐ pe	ፐ pə	ፐ po)

Labiovelars

ቂ q ^{wä}	ቂ q ^{wi}	ቂ q ^{wa}	ቂ q ^{we}	ቂ q ^{wə}
ኸ h ^{wä}	ኸ h ^{wi}	ኸ h ^{wa}	ኸ h ^{we}	ኸ h ^{wə}
ከ k ^{wä}	ከ k ^{wi}	ከ k ^{wa}	ከ k ^{we}	ከ k ^{wə}
ጒ g ^{wä}	ጒ g ^{wi}	ጒ g ^{wa}	ጒ g ^{we}	ጒ g ^{wə}

The 4th form can be formed from some other fidäls, too, like ለ l^{wa}.

Tables of Ge'ez / Amharic combined script are available e.g. in:

Buxton p 178-181; **Dillmann** (1855, Bezold 1899) 1907 p 584; **EAE 1** p xix-xxi; **Leslau** 1995 p 1018-1019; **Praetorius** 1955 (1886) p 5-7; **Priess** 2015 p x-xi; **Uhlig** 2017 p 357-358.

Appendix 4

Studies of Rev. Niilo Honkanen in Helsinki University, and stays out of Finland

Master of Theology 1970 on church history at the Helsinki University: Baptismal teaching in St Augustine's *De catechizandis rudibus* (mcl).

3½ years in Ethiopia (1971-75) and 1½ years (1997-99) working in ECMY.

5 years in Brisbane Australia as a pastor of LCA (1980-1985).

BA exam I got 2015 in general history and then I returned to Semitic language studies.

MA graduation will be 2019, and after that I would like to continue my research work on old Ethiopic texts, probably to enlarge my MA thesis.

My works on Ethiopia at the Helsinki University

Following essays and book reviews about Ethiopia in church and general history, Semitic languages & Middle Eastern studies (only numbers 7 and 12 in English):

1. Essey: Ethiopia between the Colonial Powers 1934-35 (a+) (1977, 28 p)
2. Essay: Ethiopian Ethnic Groups (4/5) (1997, 30 p)
3. Review: Heyer, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens* (3/5) (1997, 30 p)
4. Translations from Amharic into Finnish (5/5) (2014, 65 p)
5. Essay/Review on Ethiopic texts in PO & CSCO (4/5) (2015, 30 p)
6. Review: Leslau's *Reference Grammar of Amharic* (5/5) (2015, 37 p)
7. Preparatory Essay on the Ethiopian Calendar, Marian
Festivals and Picture in selected ES texts (2/5) (2016, 19 p)
8. Review: Dillmann's *Ethiopic Grammar* (5/5) (2017, 38 p)
9. Review: Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity:
Ethiopian, Editor A. Bausi (??) (2017, 28 p)
10. Translations of ES texts from Ge'ez into Finnish (5/5) (2017, 45 p)
11. Translation of a Ge'ez 'Flower song' into Finnish
ማግሌተ፡ጽጌ *maḥletä ṣäge* 'Kukkaislaulu' (??) (2018, 33 p)
12. Master of Arts study (??)
Picture of the Virgin Mary in the Ethiopic Senkessar (2019, 73 p)